SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES

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SCANDINAVIAN STUDIES

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WHO IS DOCTOR STOCKMANN?

ARNO K. LEPKE

University of New Hampshire

Of all great dramatic characters of the nineteenth century, Ibsen's have undoubtedly remained most controversial. Equally impressive arguments have been brought forth either to demonstrate that they truly reveal or to suggest that they are but puppets fabricated by a gloomy master.

Among his early admirers were those who did not hesitate to subscribe to the playwright's notion of a divine call he must obey, such as he defined it in a letter to the king in 1866: "I am not fighting for a sinecure but for the life task which, so I believe, God has imposed upon me; a mission which, it seems to me, is the most important and the most needed one for Norway: to arouse our people and to teach them a generous, heroic, and noble concept of life." In this camp, idolatry could produce a book entitled Christ or Ibsen in which the dramatist is hailed and haloed as the founder of a new religion. In a similar spirit, Heilborn, e.g., offered tribute to the master's genius when comparing his dramatic figures with the heroes of Dostoyevsky's novels "... whose mystery increases as you slowly seem to come closer to them, but when you leave an Ibsen character, you have entered into his most secret thoughts and motivations so that he has become all clear." [sic]2 More soberly but persuasively James Joyce voiced the feelings of many Ibsen followers at the turn of the century: "Through the perplexities of diverse criticism the great genius of the man is day by day coming out as a hero comes out amidst the earthly trials. The dissonant cries are fainter and more distant, the random

¹ Brandes, Eliades, Schlenther, Henrik Ibsen, Sämüliche Werke (Berlin, 1898-1904), X, 55. Letter of April 15, 1866.

⁹ Ernst Heilborn, "Der hundertjährige Ibsen," Die Neue Rundschau, XXXIX [1928], 313.

praises are rising in steadier and more choral chant...it may be questioned whether any man has held so firm an empire over the thinking in modern times. Not Rousseau; not Emerson; not Carlyle; not any of those giants of whom almost all have passed out of human ken."³

In the opposing camp, strong vocabulary is employed to argue that many of the characters are "brain spun concoctions," often basically warped or even morbid. Protests of contemporary British critics decried "ghastly caricature," "malign and perverse obscurity," or even "beatific anarchy" in the plays immediately preceding An Enemy of the People. The whole gamut of defamatory epithets heaped on the "nookshotten Norwegian" by an outraged British press can be found in the Ibsen essays of G. B. Shaw, who took great delight in juxtaposing the most vitriolic flare-ups. While the vehemence of such outbursts reflects more the true nature of Victorian conscience than that of Ibsen's plays, their basic contention that Ibsen wilfully and deliberately construed his characters is maintained in much present day adverse criticism. Mary McCarthy may, I think, be safely considered a spokesman of this negative approach: "... there is a great deal of bathetic 'studio' art in all great nineteenth century writers except for Tolstoy. . . . certainly they paid for being titans and for the power to move a mass audience by a kind of autointoxication or self-hypnosis that allowed them to manipulate their emotions like a stage hand cranking out a snowstorm from a machine containing bits of paper. This effect of false snow falling on a dramatic scene is more noticeable in Ibsen than in any of his great coevals, and he left it as his legacy to the American school of playwrights, to O'Neill, and now Tennessee Williams, Arthur Miller, and William Inge." While admirers and opponents would agree on the phenomenal influence Ibsen has exerted in the past as well as in our own time, the so-called "quintessence of Ibsenism" will indubitably remain a bone of contention.

No other figure in his mature plays has, in my estimation, caused as many discussions and conflicting evaluations, especially in our colleges and universities, as his Doctor Stockmann, "the man with the

³ James Joyce, "Ibsen's New Drama," Fortnightly Review, LXXIII (April 1, 1900), 575.

⁴ Mary McCarthy, "The Will and Testament of Ibsen," Partisan Review, XXIII (Winter 1956), 80.

stick," in An Enemy of the People. Beginning with contemporary outcries calling him a "raving maniac" and Archer's early condemnation "the least imaginative of all of Ibsen's works, the one which makes least appeal to our sensibilities" to Stockmann praises and glorifications in modern anthologies which cannot hope to sell without him, one could compile an impressive collection of mutually exclusive views.

The few comments Ibsen himself made on this play do not really provide reliable clues to the doctor's puzzling personality since they sound vague and inconsistent. The following appear relevant to illustrate this point: " . . . when you so praiseworthily endeavor to mold a population into a democratic society, you find yourself making quite some progress in turning them into a bunch of plebeians." "I am not sure whether I should call this play a comedy or a drama; it partakes of the nature of both or lies halfway between." " . . . it will be a very peaceable [!] play this time, one which may safely be read by the state councillors, the rich merchants, and their ladies and from which the theaters will not feel obliged to recoil. It will be easy to write . . . "8 "Dr. Stockmann and I come along capitally with each other, in many aspects we agree, but the doctor is more muddleheaded and confused than I am." " . . . in a way, he is a strange person and a foolhardy fellow."10 When questioned whether he did not consider the strongest man him who stands most alone, Ibsen retorted: "I am not responsible for all the nonsense which he [Dr. Stockmann] produces." But was he not obviously in sympathy with his pioneer? Ibsen snapped back: "Do you really think you know that? Perhaps you are completely wrong."11 One can well imagine the impenetrable smile accompanying these laconic statements. Were they primarily intended to baffle the listener or reader and to enhance his curiosity? At best they betray irreconcilable feelings Ibsen had for his protagonist of minority truths.

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John R. Northam, Ibsen's Dramatic Method (London, 1952), 77.

⁶ Rolf Engert, Der Grundgedanke in Ibsens Weltanschauung nach Ibsens eigenen Hinweisen (Leipzig, 1917), 38.

⁷ Northam, 84. Letter to Jonas Lie of June 22, 1882.

⁸ Theodore Jorgenson, Herrik Ibsen, A Study in Art and Personality (Northfield, 45), 363.

Otto Brahm, "Ibsenforschung," Die Neue Rundschau, XVII (1906), 1416.

¹⁰ Clara Stuyver, Ibsens Dramatische Gestalten (Amsterdam, 1952), 326.

¹¹ Ibid., 327.

At worst they illustrate the "sphinx of the north" relishing her aloofness while remaining ensconced behind unassailable pronouncements.

This play however, more than any other one, should provide a major key to the so-called "Ibsen secret" since its first draft was written by an irate man rising spontaneously to defend his authentic self. There was certainly no cryptic smile on his face when he penned the doctor's indictments. Yet, after two revisions of the original draft, the final version of the play presents Doctor Stockmann as a highly questionable, blundering, paradoxical, and almost foolish rebel.

In order to find clues to this strange portraiture, one should, I think, completely disregard Ibsen's own elusive comments on the play and rather consider those basic principles of writing to which he adheres and which he reiterates throughout his notebooks and correspondence. They may be summarized in the form of the following three imperatives which the playwright has adopted for his creative hours: (1) Rebel against outworn creeds and conventions; (2) Conceal yourself from your persecutors; (3) Judge your true self and human nature unsparingly. Before showing how these three principles are reflected in the play, I shall analyze them separately and discuss why he adopted them. Especially do I want to contend in this article that imperatives two and three were given predominant importance over imperative one when Ibsen twice revised the original draft before allowing it to be printed in its present form.

1. Rebel against outworn creeds and conventions: This motto is usually considered to be the major message of the play. Unquestionably, the original motivation of the drama was, more than ever before, one of rebellion against his inquisitors, representatives of "that man made, authority ruled, and law stricken society." After A Doll's House and Ghosts, Ibsen heard himself branded on all sides a fiendish man indulging in revolting appetites and sickening details. Voices at home were clamoring to have him burned at the stake for his seduction of both Nora and Mrs. Alving to climax a tradition too long interrupted. Had he not dared to suggest that "the most wonderful thing to happen" in a marriage might never? Had he not thereby caused shock hazards in prospective and retrospective wedlocks everywhere? In England, A Doll's House had to be bowdlerized, embellished, and recast by contemporary censors until it could be re-released under the innocuous

title Breaking a Butterfly. Pondering on the elasticity of Victorian conscience, Archer conceded: "... Ibsen is impossible on the English stage, he must be trivialized."12 The German conscience had reacted in a similar, if more sentimental, way: sobbing at the sight of the youngsters and finally collapsing, Nora lets herself be realigned to the family fold which made an enraged Ibsen cry out over "such barbaric enslavement." (Nora was recently fully rehabilitated in Berlin when she was allowed to slam the final door three times.) While the small community of his worshippers was trying to light torches for him, Ibsen saw himself burned everywhere, if not at the stake, at least in

For this reason, the playwright is certainly venting his wrath at his persecutors in many of the doctor's self-defending tirades. The fierceness of Ibsen's temper in such moments can be measured by the violence of the language used throughout the play. When brought to the quick, Ibsen would not hesitate to shake threatening fists at his countrymen and to unleash abusive, even vulgar, vocabulary to characterize them: "... a dull herd trotting in line, victims of pastoral stupefaction."13 " . . . I had to get out of the dirty business up there in order to become cleaned up as much as possible. What we need first of all is a relentless destruction and thorough extermination of this whole sinister medieval monkery spirit we inherited because it narrows our world view and stupefies our heads."14 " . . . my contemporaries up there I shall attack individually, one after the other. I shall not spare the child unborne, nor shall I spare the thoughts and feelings concealed behind the words of anybody up there."15 In such moments of boiling indignation and contempt for mankind, Ibsen will don the same sacerdotal black frock coat and the same white tie of self-righteousness with which he attires his Stockmann when appearing before a hostile citizenry. He will then truly become "the man with the club," impatient with human frailties, and ready to assume the stature of an archangel dispensing justice on a benumbed people. d. Had "Hammerblow after hammerblow until my very last day, I must

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¹² William Archer, "Breaking a Butterfly," Theatre, (Nov. 1, 1880), 214.

¹³ Brandes, Eliades, Schlenther, X, 361, letter to Bjørnson of Dec. 22, 1885.

¹⁴ Ibid., 279, letter to Dietrichson of Dec. 19, 1879.

¹⁵ Brahm, 1427.

penetrate into the depths until I find the precious ores..;"16 in such and similar rhymed mottoes will he persuade himself in these hours of his great and burdensome mission.

But this Ibsen-Stockmann relishing the "sledgehammer language" of his indictments in the play is not really Henrik but Knud the father's temper breaking through. Knud had ruled the family in a spirit of despotism borne of frustration and had terrorized the children with his tyrannical outbursts. When returning to his normally sober and brooding self, Henrik Ibsen fully realized that his "all or nothing" formula was sterile and inapplicable to human nature as he had well demonstrated in the devastating swath cut by Stockmann's predecessor Brand. A naive and infuriated rebel who defies the absolutes of a compact majority and subsequently finds himself branded public enemy No. 1 would be too cheap an issue and too superficial a key to account for the lasting and, as it appears, increasing challenge of An Enemy of the People. The tempestuous parts in Ibsen are counterbalanced and held in check by opposing voices, especially by the warning

2. Conceal yourself from your persecutors: The comments by Ibsen on Doctor Stockmann which I gave above have already illustrated this propensity, just as the generally elusive and enigmatic elements in practically all of his mature plays indicate how much he shunned an open and unequivocal commitment. The playwright was hypersensitive to the stings of adverse criticism to the degree that he abandoned plans for an autobiography from fear that its details might be misconstrued and slanderously abused. Because of this complex, sometimes bordering on the phobic, some of his contemporaries nicknamed him "the marmot." Escaping to Italy from an oppressive home environment, he bitterly reminisces on the dichotomy this world created in him: " . . . back home I could never lead an integrated life. I was one self in my production, another self in the external world. But this way my production was nothing wholesome either." "... whatever I had to say from the very core of my being, it was always voiced with the wrong expression; and since I felt this so very deeply, I put a fence around myself."18 "I can never quite persuade myself to lay

¹⁶ Ibid., 1424. ¹⁷ Ibid., 1413.

¹⁸ E. Horbach, Ibsens Dramen als Erlebnisdichtung (Nijmwegen, 1934), 4.

myself bare completely . . . I prefer it to seclude myself." Vacillating thus between voices challenging him to expose stagnation and others, equally strong, urging him to be on his guard so that he may remain invulnerable, Ibsen encounters himself now a rebel, now another "shy guest at the feast of the world's culture." The dramatic use of conflicting and incompatible voices in Brand and Peer Gynt, e.g., illustrates this point. Caught in this frustrating dilemma, Ibsen attempted to cope with it and to solve it by assigning himself the major task

3. Judge your true self and human nature unsparingly: This third imperative resulting almost with necessity from the conflicting postulates of the previous two offers, in my opinion, the most important and the safest key to an understanding not only of the controversial doctor but likewise of many major figures in Ibsen's mature plays. It was most succinctly and felicitously worded by the playwright in one of his well-known maxims: "To live is to war with fiends that beset the brain and the heart, to write is to summon the self and to play the judge's part."20 This motto often invoked as inspiring lodestar by the ambitious young writer or perhaps serving as purple patch to embellish a literary disquisition cannot be taken seriously and literally enough in the case of Ibsen. My conjecture is that it was the force of this predominant principle which made Ibsen rewrite the play twice. The full implication of this imperative is intimated in a letter to his friend Bjørnson: "... you may believe me that in my quiet hours I certainly wallow quite thoroughly in my own entrails and separate and anatomize, especially in those areas where it does hurt the most."21 In following the action of the play closely, one can discern how the lovable and persuasive pioneer of truth and of a better world to live in is allowed almost imperceptibly to develop into a selfish and conceited rebel without a cause. While playing the judge's part when reconsidering the Stockmann of the first draft and while separating and anatomizing "where it does hurt the most," Ibsen discovers that his protagonist should be distinguished by the following three painful characteristics which I shall presently discuss separately: (1) a quarrelsome and pugnacious bent; (2) naive and blindfolded idealism; (3) illconcealed selfishness parading as virtue. The phenomenal aspect of

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¹⁹ Ibid., 4.

²⁰ Archibald Henderson, European Dramatists (Cincinnati, 1913), 167.

n Horbach, 6.

the play is that these disqualifying features of the crusader will enter into view only after an almost microscopic examination of the details of the "Ibsen palimpsest" as, I think, many final versions of his mature plays might fittingly be called.

1. Stockmann's quarrelsome and pugnacious bent: This feature is underscored by the choice of the name Stockmann which, as mentioned before, means "the man with the stick," an appellation befitting either brother. Early in the play we hear of "this disastrous propensity of yours" which had shown itself in the past in "cascades of letters, pamphlets, and newspaper articles on every possible and impossible thing" which the doctor had apparently poured into the town. To check this ingrained aggressiveness. Peter had him appointed medical officer of the baths, hoping thereby to stop the "cantankerous man" and to prevent him from further attacking the government, "pulling things to pieces, and picking quarrels, an old habit of yours," as he puts it. Although the doctor rejects this accusation when levelled against him, he does confirm its validity later on when he loses self-control before a hostile crowd of citizens: " . . . I can't stand leading men at any price, I have had enough of such people in my time. . . . they are like billy goats in a young plantation; they do mischief everywhere. They stand in a free man's way, whichever direction he may turn, and what I should like best would be to see them exterminated like any other vermin." This native love of violence is further emphasized at the beginning of the play where one learns that the doctor gleefully composed his report on water contamination in "hammerblow language" before his suspicions had even been scientifically confirmed. Billing, the journalist, comments on this report: " . . . crushing, indeed, every word falls, how shall I put it, like the blow of a sledgehammer." How much the doctor relishes his explosive parts is seen later when his voice is heard by the people. Instead of using the opportunity to try to turn the tide in his favor, he prefers to show his teeth and to launch volleys of abusive language at his hated brother, the epitome of stagnation: " . . . my brother Peter, slow-witted and hidebound in prejudice . . . is every bit as plebeian as anything that walks in two shoes."

This tempestuous Stockmann resembling a high-school bully shows again how enraged Ibsen can feel over "burgomaster ethics" which enslave the masses and paralyze the individual's initiative. The

shouting Stockmann actually does not much more than rehash the impatient battlecry of Pillars of Society: "How we suffer here under the curse of our traditions, conventions, and customs. Rebel against it, all of you . . . create an event which will strike in the very face of all these 'proprieties and good conventional manners' . . . I don't want to become something which simply has been accepted."22 Ibsen was never sure what the better traditions, conventions, and customs would or even should be like. He certainly kept hammering away to come closer to "the precious ores," but did he ever find them or anything precious for that matter? A favorite dream of his, as fervent as it was vague, was the vision of "the third empire" of the future in which all nations and religions would be merged in unity. While unable to proclaim how this Eldorado should be brought about, he did frequently proclaim his contempt and undying hatred of most contemporary politicians for preventing the realization of whatever "it" might be like. In exposing thus the immature and bumptious trait of his Stockgainst mann self, Ibsen also points out clearly in the play that a deeply ontrol rooted naiveté about life and people is the major cause of such conduct:

where. 2. Stockmann's naive and blindfolded idealism: This feature is underturn, scored by the choice of the name Tomas to illustrate the doctor's ed like native inability to see things in a realistic perspective. He is easily nasized lartuffed by the grandiloquent oratory on the ethics of revolution as eefully delivered by Hovstad and his associate who are primarily bent on w lan- exploiting him. One notices how gladly he accepts their custom-taifirmed. lored verbiage when they hail him a savior about to descend on a ng, in- stricken town whose cause reflects true morality: "...a journalist sledge incurs a heavy responsibility, doctor, if he neglects a favorable opporis seen tunity of emancipating the masses, the humble and the oppressed," oppor- protests Hovstad; " . . . in exalted circles I shall be called an agitator is teeth and all that sort of thing. But they may call me what they like, if er, the only my conscience does not reproach me." Stockmann has the most d hide generous vocabulary for his would-be followers, calling them "the t walks liberal and active minds," "the fermenting forces of the future," and frequently advises them not to worry about the approaching revolubully tion, that "everything will run off smoothly, quite smoothly . . . "

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²² Pillars of Society, Act IV.

These assurances are avidly absorbed by his listener, Mr. "capital fellow" (Hovstad), who counts on gaining Stockmann's charming but reserved daughter as a free extra in the bargain. Sensing the apprehensions of his clear-sighted wife, the doctor attempts to persuade her that there will be "triumphant social forces" backing him up and ready to fight for his cause: " . . . do you imagine that in a free country it is no use having right on your side? You are absurd, Catherine; besides, haven't I got the liberal minded, independent press to lead the way and the compact majority behind me? That is might enough, I should think." What revolution will really do to the old order is enthusiastically enunciated by him before his awed appendage: "... all the incapables must be turned out, you understand, and that in every walk of life . . . endless vistas have opened themselves to my mind's eyes today . . . I cannot see it all quite clearly yet, but I shall in time . . . young and vigorous standard bearers,—those are what we need and must seek, my friends; we must have new men in command at all our outposts." The sudden and painful awakening from these glorious dreams occurs when Peter's wiles and financial threats have convinced the conspirators that their investment in the doctor was too risky. Finding himself deserted by both, "the newly awakened lion hearted people" and his profit-minded "standard bearers," Tomas stands helplessly before his wife who bitterly comments on her husband's thwarted ambitions: "I know quite well that you have more brains than any one else in town, but you are extremely easily duped,

To show how the Icarus reach for the sun originates in utter ignorance of earthly conditions is, of course, one of Ibsen's favorite themes. Similar to other idealists of his plays who have "bitten themselves fast," Stockmann is sailing blindfolded and steering either into a vortex or straight on the cliffs. His fate follows the pattern set by Brand, "the scourge of mankind," who gains nothing and loses everything by preaching that "nothing is eternally gained but what is sacrificially lost." Shaw remarks correctly that "He dies a saint, having caused more intense suffering by his saintliness than the most talented sinner could possibly have done with twice his opportunities." In like manner, Pastor Manders in Ghosts keeps hiding in the folds of his dogmatic coat until he can no longer see the light of true life around him. Destructive ignorance passing under the name of the

ideal would again be highlighted in Gregers Werle, the fanatic busybody of The Wild Duck. This direct offspring of Dr. Stockmann who parades his barren "nothing but the truth" formula decides to pour his "clear water" into a happy domestic fireplace, a fitting image to climax Ibsen's dramatization of deceptive idealism." The emphasis on the doctor's quixotic ignorance reflects that basically pessimistic orientation in Ibsen which will predominate more and more in his later years: " . . . when man demands to live and to develop humanity at the same time, it is all megalomania, all humanity and all the Christians suffer from megalomania."28 "... there are actually moments when the whole history of the world appears to me like a great shipwreck, and then the only important thing seems to save oneself."24 "... all mankind has miscarried." These are just a few typical utterances.

3. Stockmann's ill concealed selfishness parading as virtue: Far more disillusioning than the pugnacious and naive traits illustrated above appears the thinly disguised and even self-complacent egotism which Ibsen decided to project as a major feature of his pioneer. Early in the play when having his suspicions of water contamination confirmed, Stockmann immediately and almost triumphantly divulges to press reporters the news that "the whole place is a pesthouse," although he had just been specifically warned that he must go through channels in all matters concerning the welfare of the town. By yielding to his impulse and by spreading the unsavory news right away, he has placed a lasting stigma on his town even though the damage might be curable, a possibility which he later on concedes when he speaks of avorite chemicals and antidotes which could provide a reliable safety margin. He is thus doing irreparable damage to his fellow citizens who have er into invested most of their earnings in the future "gold mine," the baths. set by Desiring to precipitate a moment of victorious elation irrespective of consequences, Stockmann even exults in "the nice upset" his disovery will cause in town and in his brother's office especially. During it, hav- the whole play, one hears not a single word of his expressing compasost tal- sion for seeing the town's investments undermined and welfare totter-

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²⁹ Henderson, 173.

²⁴ Jorgenson, 359.

[#] Henderson, 173.

ing. On the contrary: Shortly after his momentous discovery, he pointedly suggests that he would not accept a salary increase if the committee should vote for it, a hint strong enough to expedite appropriate action. He later resumes the game of declining "undeserved honors" in order to encourage such official recognition as he feels himself entitled to: "... you don't see how on earth it was any more than my duty,—my obvious duty as a citizen. Of course, it wasn't. I know that as well as you do. But, my fellow citizens, you know! Good Lord, think of all the good souls who think so highly of me!... whatever it is, whether it is a demonstration in my honor, or a banquet, or a subscription list for some presentation to me,—whatever it is, you must solemnly and faithfully promise me to put a stop to it." Addressed as these words are to his "fellow rebels" who have just reverted their allegiance from the risky Tomas to the foxy Peter, the whole scene assumes grotesque proportions.

The egotism of the doctor becomes crass and depressing in the climactic scene of the play when his own financial security becomes unexpectedly involved in the town's fiasco; his father-in-law comes to tell him that he has bought most of the shares of the baths whose value had tumbled to practically zero over night. Pointing out to Tomas that he paid for them with the money his daughter will be inheriting from him, he leaves the doctor to decide whether "you are stark, staring mad, Tomas. . . . it will be exactly as if you were to flay broad strips of skin from Catherine's body, and Petra's, and the boys'; no decent man would do that,—unless he were mad...." Under the impact of this alternative, the doctor for the first time reconsiders his sweeping condemnations of the baths in which he had adamantly maintained that the town's water contamination was of an irremediable nature. The same Stockmann who had previously decried as "pieces of trickery and downright crime" any attempts at "patching and tinkering at the poisonous whitened sepulchre" when the town's weal was at stake now reverses his position in view of his own personal potential predicament: "... but hang it all! It must be possible for science to discover some prophylactic, I should think, or some antidote of some kind. . . . to think that you could do such a preposterous thing! Risking Catherine's money in this way and putting me in such a horribly painful dilemma! When I look at you, I think I see the very devil himself!" It is the first time that the existence of a painful dilemma occurs to him.

In thus letting the social reformer and preacher of righteousness stagger at a most crucial moment in the play, Ibsen returns to his favorite theme of the "life lie" behind which man entrenches himself, no matter how idealistic his approach may seem to himself and others. To leave no cause unstained with the acid of hidden falseness often appears to assume the nature of an obsession to which Ibsen will almost greedily yield. His biographer Collin sees in it a predominantly morbid penchant: "...he almost enjoyed, and this was a devilish feature in his personality, to discover everywhere the imperfect in earthly man and then to show it up triumphantly, especially where it had managed to conceal itself dexterously behind the mask of the apparently good and noble. He knew how to discern selfishness, the most deadly enemy of the soul, even in those relationships where it was covered with a thick coat of altruism. His judgment was like Mephisto's in Goethe's 'Prologue in Heaven.' He spoke of the 'neverhave-been' of true moral absolutes. . . . "26 The frustrated missionary in Ibsen can easily turn around, stamp his foot on the ground, and cry: "If I am incapable of building, I shall still be the man to tear down everything around me."27

I have deliberately emphasized these disqualifying features of Dr. Stockmann since they do not fit into the picture of the "martyr for truth" so often painted for reasons of expedience. By no means do I want to minimize those lovable and admirable parts of the doctor which remain in the final version and which have made thousands of his readers identify themselves enthusiastically with "the strongest man." His straightforward and singlehanded tackling of the problem at hand against a devilish encirclement is certainly inspiring, just as his ebullient zest to eradicate the forces of evil in human and social relations is most engaging. But the thoughtful reader feels more and more saddened as he realizes the doctor's unfitness for the pioneering task he has undertaken. In this respect, he undoubtedly reflects that self-despairing Ibsen who will conclude in his later works that he pursued a chimera when dreaming of his life's mission.

Most readers will take the doctor's side when Peter demands from him on pain of dismissal that (1) he will reach the conclusion upon further investigation that the matter of the town's water was by no

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²⁶ Joseph Collin, Henrik Ibsen, Sein Werk, seine Weltanschauung, sein Leben (Heidelberg, 1910), 26.

²⁷ Engert, 35.

means as dangerous or as critical as he had imagined at first, and that (2) he will make a public confession of his full confidence in the bath committee and in their readiness to consider fully and conscientiously whatever steps may be necessary to remedy any possible defects.

But even in this obvious case of pressure and duress exerted against him, a close look at Stockmann's reaction reveals his basic immaturity and selfishness: although the first demand of Peter is criminal in nature, it was already noted before that the doctor will concede the possibility of remedial steps later in the play when his private fortune unexpectedly becomes dependent on the hygienic sanity of the baths. At this point in the middle of the play where the interest of his "oppressed fellow citizens" is at stake, he should have conceded at least as much. However, a smashing defeat of his hated brother outweighs all other considerations at this stage. He should further have accepted without any reservations Peter's second demand since he had no evidence whatever to indicate that he was dealing with a rubberstamping body or that there was a lack of civic responsibility in the committee.

Stockmann in the last phase of the drama can no longer harness his extravagance when proclaiming the nature of the better world he envisages. In his defensive speech before the common people he must hold them high to show them how low they really are. To deliver his indictments on "that rancid and tainted ham of the past," he appears before the citizenry in a sacerdotal black frock coat decorated with the white tie of self-righteousness. Clinging to the idea of leadership remaining in martyrdom, he declares with pontifical finality that "all sources of our moral life are poisoned and the whole fabric of our civic community is founded on the pestiferous soil of falsehood." Then his barrages roll on like the charges of his demagogical successors in history, often assuming the nature of volcanic eruptions: " . . . Can you imagine it is right that the stupid folk of the compact majority should govern the clever ones? . . . There is the foul lie that the common folk, the ignorant and incomplete men of the community, should have the same right to pronounce judgment . . . and to govern as the isolated and intellectually superior personalities. . . . there is a tremendous difference between poodle men and cur men. . . . I am in the right, I and a few other scattered individuals; the minority is always right. . . . a normally constituted truth lives, let us say, as a rule seventeen or eighteen years, seldom longer. But truths as aged as that are always

worn frightfully thin... these majority truths are like last year's cured meat... and they are the origin of the moral scurvy that is rampant in our communities... what does the destruction of a community matter if it lives on lies! It ought to be razed to the ground, I tell you. All who live by lies ought to be exterminated like vermin... I am not so forgiving as a certain Person: I do not say, I forgive ye, for ye know not what ye do!"

The crusader ever athirst for militant action leaves the stage like the drunkard who had cast the only vote for him. The proud poodle man has thus severed the bonds connecting him with "the ordinary, common, low-bred cur men" and has thereby shown himself, indeed, an enemy of the people in most of his speeches and actions. In his passionate but vague propositions, he has offered no acceptable formula for the improvement of mankind, except for a few shrewd comments on conventional insincerities which will always exist in human relations. To cope successfully with the irrationality of the human animal, a reformer would need sympathy, diplomacy, understanding, persuasion, and a willingness to take rebuff, none of which Stockmann has.

He does regain the reader's sympathy toward the end of the play when he faces the insinuation that he engineered the condemnation of the baths in collusion with his father-in-law in order to gain control of them, a suspicion staggering his imagination. It is quite understandable that he wants to punish his accusers by an immediate defenestration.

The depressing keynote throughout the final act, however, remains the doctor's conceit and 'strutting: "... that the common herd should dare to make this attack on me as if they were my equals, that is what I cannot for the life of me swallow." Recoiling from the stigma "folkefiende," he has muddled ideas of escaping either to America, or to some South Sea island, or even to a virgin forest because "that hateful name is sticking here in the pit of my stomach, eating into me like a corrosive acid, and no magnesia will remove it." But when circumstances thwart these runaway plans, the doctor plunges back into his suicidal armor: "... but now I am going to sharpen my pen until they can feel its point; I shall dig it in venom and gall; I shall hurl my inkwell at their heads, We are going to stay where we are, Catherine, this is the field of battle, this is where I shall triumph." To give immediate evidence of his imminent

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endous ight, I ht.... een or always victory, he announces to the boys that they will never set foot in school again because he will educate them himself: "that is to say, you shan't learn a blessed thing, but I shall make liberal-minded and high-spirited men of you . ." It is thus a beclouded and blindfolded Dr. Stockmann who pronounces his memorable final axiom "the strongest man in the world is he who stands most alone."

The subject matter of this drama has gained new significance at a time when the validity of traditional democratic principles and prerequisites is again challenged by "strong men" bent on casting into limbo "those rotten majority truths." Ibsen's projection of the problem leaves a bewildering portrait of man, either in restless and unscrupulous pursuit of his personal gains or thinly disguising his egotism with high flowing oratory about the ideal.

This interpretation does not intend to belittle the doctor's courage and zest for his cause, nor do I want to disparage the intrigues against him by the leader of "the puny, narrow-chested, shortwinded crew." Viciously though the burgomaster brother is acting to ward off his own fall from power, the government if led by Dr. Stockmann would probably be in less responsible hands: he would certainly institute Calvinistic decrees resembling those of his kinsman Brand; and unknowingly, but obediently, he would become the tool of his "standard bearers, those fermenting forces of the future," who would show him whom to eliminate where. For his attempts to exterminate all liars he would ultimately again be stoned, but then more effectively.

Stockmann had his forerunners in Parsifal, Don Quixote, and Candide, but they were Tomas without Stockmann. They bear that basic stamp of innocence in which we recognize our own guileless parts and never-ending aspirations. The "guileless fool," "the knight of the woeful figure," and the believer in "the best of all possible worlds" make us search with them for the Holy Grail, Dulcinea del Toboso, and Cunegonde. We suffer with them because we know better what we wish we never knew.

The Stockmann naiveté is of a different caliber: Alcestes has returned from his desert up north to show them again what is what and who is who. The reader finds it increasingly difficult to smile when following his onslaughts. He found imitators in history to rule and ruin.

The reader laying the play aside and asking himself whose philosophy could have and, perhaps, should have been followed in the imbroglio of all the intrigues cannot help but remember the words of

timid Mr. Aslaksen who is always afraid of sudden changes: "... Nobody can take exception to a reasonable and frank expression of a citizen's views... but not violently, doctor,... proceed with moderation, or you will do nothing with them... you may take my advice, I have gathered my experience in the school of life..." It is thus the weakling, the epitome of "the dull herd trotting in line" rather than the idealist who knows best how to cope effectively with a "wounded humanity." Shaw seeking to coin a conclusive maxim suggests that "the idealist is a more dangerous animal than the Philistine, just as man is a more dangerous animal than a sheep."28

At the end of the play, it is the voice of Aslaksen again which expresses the typical and ever-recurring message of Ibsen: "...he [the doctor] talks about the baths... but it is revolution he is aiming at; he wants to get the administration of the town put in new hands.... Dr. Stockmann has shown himself in a light I should never have dreamed of ..."

It is this latter discovery of Aslaksen which strikes the playwright again and again in his "hour of the great disgust" with all potential values and ideals once he has focused his merciless searchlight on them. When Mrs. Alving in Ghosts finally dares to review the life she spent Procrusteanized in the teachings of her haloed adjunct, Pastor Manders, she breaks forth: "... I wanted only to unravel one point in your teachings, but as soon as I had that unravelled, the whole fabric came to pieces, and then I realized that it was only machine made." It is this dramatic encounter with nothingness rather than a few shocking details which produced the violent Ibsen controversy which still re-echoes today.

Ibsen stated in 1873 that he passed through three phases when composing a drama: in the first one he would write as if he had met his characters but briefly on a train ride; in the second phase, he would describe the same people imagining that he had just spent four weeks with them in a resort place; in the third and final phase he would analyze them thoroughly feeling that nothing in them was any longer hidden from him and that he had come to know them deeply with all their weaknesses.²⁹

It is my conjecture that the Doctor Stockmann of the train ride

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²⁸ Bernard Shaw, The Quintessence of Ibsenism (New York, 1931), 183.

²⁹ Stuyver, 241.

was close to the inspiring idealist and pioneer of truth whom many of the present-day interpreters so dearly prefer to the complex man he really is. But, as stated before, the first draft of the play was destroyed by Ibsen and so was the second. The playwright was known to weigh and reconsider practically every word of the final version of a play before releasing it for print. The third and final revision of An Enemy of the People incorporates and emphasizes, I feel, those negative features in the doctor "no longer hidden" which I have attempted to trace in this essay: the quarrelsome, the naive, and the oppressingly selfish parts. Considering the pronouncements of Ibsen given above, I surmise that these features of the doctor slowly emerged as irrefutable findings of the probing judge while meditating on himself and human nature in general in his quiet hours.

In scrutinizing the inner battlefield of conflicting selves warring with each other for supremacy, Ibsen will, of course, often resolutely espouse the Stockmann cause which tells him that he was chosen to rebuild. He will then contemptuously turn away from the Zola-type writer "who is going down in the human sewer to take a swim" and he will announce that he is going down there too, but in order "to clean it up." Joining sides with his iconoclastic Brand whom he once called fittingly "my true self in my best moments," he will escape stone throwing from the persecuting "gray hawk of compromise" and again envisage his goal "to become the healer of the sickness and disharmony of this world."

But as ambition drives him onward to scale the icy mountains, conscience slowly applies the brakes and makes him retrace his steps until he finds himself paralyzed and sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought: "... good devils and evil devils; light-haired devils and black-haired devils. If only one could be sure all the time whether it is the forces of light or the power of darkness which hold you in their grip... hahaha, then the thing would be quite simple..." The sarcastic treatment so often given Dr. Stockmann in this play shows how bitter and how thought-riddled Ibsen must have felt seeing himself thus caught in the middle of mutually stultifying voices. The final

³⁰ Jorgenson, 363.

³¹ Brahm, 1416.

[#] Stuyver, 158.

¹⁵ The Master Builder, Act II.

version with its undercurrent of despair bears the imprint of that self-searching pessimism which made Ibsen disclaim responsibility for "all the nonsense produced by the doctor."

André Gide once commented: "... as soon as I make any statement about myself, the very opposite immediately appears so much more true... whatever I say or do, there is always one part of myself which stays behind and watches the other part compromise itself; when one is divided that way, how is it possible to be sincere?" been would have recognized himself in this question, but he would have recoiled from the Frenchman's ability to enjoy his Nobel-prized multiplicity. Similarly, but fearfully, aware of this inner dichotomy, Ibsen can but see a tragic implication in a hopeless struggle for authenticity. When man is separated from his true self by layers of insincerity and from other selves by a gulf that can never be bridged, what else can the playwright do but to probe on into the elusive recesses of the human psyche and to continue compiling his encyclopedia of shams and self-deceptions?

In leaving practically nothing that may stand erect under his scrutiny, Ibsen's Dr. Stockmann anticipates Kafka's country doctor who finds his patient stricken with an incurable wound. The question thus can be no longer how to heal but how to live with an irremediable ailment. The revised life task must be clothed in a face saving and self-consoling formula: "My office is to question, not to answer." The best the soul-searching playwright can hope to achieve will be to make the universal sphinx of life a more intelligible riddle. But the retrospective Ibsen ponders with Rubek in his last play: "I was experiencing the painful joy of wrestling with the impossible."

Dr. Stockmann, the fighter for truth in Sunday trousers, is neither hero nor atrocious madhead but Ibsen's attempt to distinguish between the two. Created impulsively in the middle of his career and directed most personally at his environment, the play offers, in my estimation, one of the finest clues to the ever-exciting "Ibsen secret."

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MAndré Gide, The Counterfeiters (New York, 1952), 429, 64.

³⁵ Horbach, 234.

THE VERB-ADVERB LOCUTION IN CERTAIN OLD ICELANDIC MANUSCRIPTS

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IN 1940 the late Albert Morey Sturtevant published a very interesting article entitled "The Position of the Verb-Adverb Locution with Reference to the Verb in the Elder Edda." The article is worthy of attention because it concerns a feature of syntax which, although it has its roots in Indo-European, shows an interesting development in Germanic as a whole and in the Scandinavian languages in particular: the usage of a group of items which I shall refer to as prepositionadverbs. Attention is also due the article because it attempts a tentative comparison of verse and prose, two genres for which syntactic comparison is not too common. Furthermore, it employs a certain amount of statistics in presenting its results.

By the last remark I do not wish to imply that I unequivocally advocate the use of statistics. I am too well aware of the many pitfalls involved. However, I feel that cautious use of statistics can be very informative in linguistic analysis. For example, Heusler's Altisländisches Elementarbuch has a section "Zur Satzlehre" which is actually one of the few fairly complete treatments of Old Icelandic syntax.² In it we find statements such as this: "Nicht selten, auch in Prosa, ist die vorangestellte, von ihrem Nomen getrennte Präp., . . ." (p. 145). Obviously we can not take it amiss that Heusler does not present actual statistics for each such point. At the same time we may well wonder just what "nicht selten" means. Sturtevant's article and the material which I wish to present here serve to answer this type of question.

Old Icelandic has at least three major literary genres: Eddic verse, skaldic verse, and prose. The prose might well be further subdivided, but the recognition of at least these three literary divisions as such has significance for the linguistic investigation of the language, and especially for syntactic analysis. The distinction sometimes found for the prose as to learned style and popular style I shall ignore in the following, since probably all of the texts which I have used would fall into the latter classification. The syntactic and stylistic differences among

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ SS, XVI, 1–21. All subsequent references to Sturtevant will be to this article.

² Andreas Heusler, Altisländisches Elementarbuch, 4th ed. (Heidelberg, 1950), pp. 110-191.

the three genres which I have chosen to distinguish are more than obvious even to the non-specialist. It is all the more interesting, therefore, when comparisons are attempted between any two, or even among all three. Although Sturtevant was essentially presenting material for only one genre, the Eddic verse, comparison with the other two is implicit in his article. Indeed, at the end of the article the author points out the desirability, and even the necessity, of having further detailed investigation (p. 20).

For my corpus I have chosen ten of the oldest Icelandic prose manuscripts and analyzed them in their entirety. They range in date from about 1150 to about 1250 and are listed here in roughly chronological order: AM 237a, AM 315d, RM I, GkS 1812, AM 674a, Holm 15, AM 673a, RM II, AM 279a, NRA 52, and AM DI LXVI.* I chose these because they were available to me either in good diplomatic or facsimile editions or as photographs and therefore permitted close control. Some are rather short, but at least one, the Holm 15, is quite extensive.

Sturtevant's article itself goes back to an earlier study by Murat H. Roberts entitled "The Antiquity of the Germanic Verb-Adverb Locution." Roberts there defines the verb-adverb locution as "the association of a verb with an adverb which determines the spatial range of the predication" (p. 466). For the purposes of this study, I would omit "spatial," since the range of the predication is actually also determined by temporal and even other less easily defined factors. Roberts' investigation included all of the major Germanic languages, but at no point does he define his corpus, nor does he present any sort of statistical summarization. For the Icelandic he quotes from Egils saga, Eyrbyggja saga, Flóres saga, Laxdæla saga, and Njáls saga. Nowhere can one find any indication as to just how large a corpus or how many specific examples his conclusions are based on. These are real weaknesses.

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³ Didrik Arup Seip, *Palæografi B: Norge og Island*, Nordisk kultur, Vol. XXVIII B (Stockholm, 1954), pp. 41–43 and 85. RM I and II are counted as one manuscript but represent two different dates.

⁴ JEGP, XXXV (1936), 466-481.

⁵ Ludwig Bernstein, in his interesting study *The Order of Words in Old Norse Prose* (New York, 1897), does much better, in that he indicates the corpus of his material and attempts to give some indications as to relative frequencies. He touches on the preposition-adverbs only very briefly, however, and does not really concern himself with our problem.

Sturtevant, following Roberts, distinguished four positions with reference to the verb. These are the examples which he gives in English: a) pre-contiguous—over tumbled the vase, b) post-contiguous the wind turned over the vase, c) pre-removed-over with disastrous effect did the wind turn the vase, d) post-removed—the wind turned the vase over (p. 2). Where Roberts studied adverbs of the type upp, út, saman, and the like, Sturtevant concentrated upon the prepositionadverbs, or, as he said, "those adverbs which later developed into prepositions" (p. 1).6 That is, all of the primary prepositions, to use Heusler's terminology, except an, med, and of, plus two secondary prepositions, (á) milli and til. In my study I have included án and med as really belonging to the group, even though by chance they did not occur in Sturtevant's material. I omit the so-called expletive particle of, however, to agree with Sturtevant's practice. For the same reason the expletive particle of and the particle at with an infinitive are not considered as separating the adverb from the verb in precontiguous position (p. 2). On the other hand, examples in which occur the series adverb plus auxiliary verb plus past participle are classed as pre-removed. That is, Sturtevant in such cases seems to have considered as most relevant the position of the adverb in relation to the past participle. His procedure at this point may be open to question, but I believe that it can be justified.

Sturtevant chose the particular group of adverbs which he did, because as part of his investigation he was interested in trying to trace the initial stages of the prepositional usage (p. 1). This is a very complicated subject, and I shall disregard it here, since I am treating it elsewhere in a somewhat different respect. I shall also ignore the distinction which Sturtevant tried to observe between an adverb signifying "attendant circumstances" (that is, one not necessary for the completion of the verbal idea) and an adverb showing "prefixal usage" (that is, one necessary for the completion of the verbal idea). My reasons are two. First, I do not think that the distinction is pertinent to the basic problem of this study, and second, Sturtevant's own results indicate that "there was probably no material difference in the position of an adverb locution whether felt as an attendant circumstance or as a verbal prefix" (p. 17).

⁶ Although I do not entirely agree with this definition, a discussion of it here would not be especially pertinent to the problem under consideration.

Note that Sturtevant used "prefixal" in a very broad sense and regardless of the actual position of the preposition-adverb in relation to the verb. The question of whether or not a sequence of prepositionadverb plus verbal form is a compound verb is not raised. The author seems simply to have followed traditional analysis, and when, for example, a form such as fyrirbjoda occurred, it was ignored. This seems to me a real problem, and one which recurs almost every time an example of pre-contiguous position is found. This rather thorny problem is complicated by the comparative brevity of some of the texts, and I have reserved it for separate consideration. In all matters I have tried to make my investigation parallel Sturtevant's as far as possible, in order that the comparisons which I wish to make may have the greatest possible validity. I have also adopted his terminology to avoid unnecessary complications. I would have liked to give each occurrence, as Sturtevant did. However, since the total number of my examples amounts to 830, this is obviously impossible here.

The results for the Eddic verse show: a) 42.5 per cent, b) 18 per cent, c) 5.5 per cent, d) 34 per cent, with a total of 129 examples (p. 16). For purposes of comparison I summarize my results on page 80 in a table similar to Sturtevant's Table I.

A glance at the percentages shows that there is considerable general similarity between Sturtevant's results and mine. In both, a leads; in both, d is next highest; in both, c is lowest, and by a significant margin. Probably the fact that d agrees absolutely and c nearly so is coincidental. That there is such overall similarity can not be a coincidence. The syntactic agreement between prose and verse, at least in this point, is closer than we might suspect. Sturtevant refers to a trend in Old Icelandic toward the postpositive position and cites Roberts (p. 16). My material seems to substantiate this idea of a trend, but certainly the trend is not a sharp one. Roberts states-in respect to his particular group of adverbs, of course—that Icelandic favors the post-contiguous and post-removed orders, and that the commonest position of the adverb is post-contiguous (p. 475). In considering these statements we must again remind ourselves that we have little idea as to what Roberts' corpus was, or what its size and nature might have been-all factors of great importance if we are to interpret his work properly. In any event, the statements clearly do not apply to the preposition-adverbs, even if they may be valid for the adverbs which Roberts was studying. Both Sturtevant's results and

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	a	b	С	d
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af	34	10	10	16
at	21	16	1	22
eplir	21	17	4	25
fra	23	6	2	14
fyrir	23	26	1	24
1	17	8	2	9
(d)milli	5	1	0	5
ór	0	2	1	1
til	58	55	8	73
26774	17	7	1	17
undir	2	1	0	8
við	28	43	1	35
yfir	24	4	3	5
með	5	0	1	11
án	5	0	0	2
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total	301	211	39	279 = 830
per cent	36	25	5	34

mine show Icelandic favoring a, not b or d; and b, far from being the commonest, is not even second, but third in order of magnitude.

One position, the pre-removed, now requires more detailed discussion. Twice in his article Sturtevant states that the pre-removed position does not occur in the prose (pp. 2-3, fn. 4; p. 16). This is obviously not the case. It is certainly of infrequent occurrence, but, as the percentages show, relatively as frequent as in the Eddic verse. Let us examine precisely how this does occur. In my corpus there are thirty-nine examples of pre-removed position. In nine of these the preposition-adverb is found immediately following another adverb, such as hvaðan, e.g., hvaðan af skal ek þetta vita 'from whence shall I know this' (Holm 15, 5a). In four other cases the preposition-adverb eptir follows a temporal adverbial phrase, and this unit is then resumed by ba, e.g., en of vetrinn eptir þa eru sólhu orf i austri 'but during the winter

⁷ Identification is by manuscript page unless otherwise specified. Spellings are normalized, and translations are as literal as possible in order to show the Icelandic construction.

after then the solstice is in the east' (GkS 1812, 63:2). These thirteen examples can, I think, be dismissed from further consideration. Whatever a complete immediate constituent analysis of Old Icelandic would show, I am sure that the primary constituency of the preposition-adverb here is to the other adverb or the prepositional phrase, and its relation to the verb is of an order different from that found in the examples to be discussed next.

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In twenty occurrences we find a series of preposition-adverb plus auxiliary verb plus past participle, e.g., ef af er skorinn fimmtungr 'if a fifth part is cut off' (AM DI LXV1, lines 25-26). In five occurrences we find a series of preposition-adverb plus a form of skulu, tja, vilja, or bykkja, plus the infinitive of the verb to which the prepositionadverb stands in immediate constituency, e.g., hvat or skyldi rada 'what should prove expedient' (Holm 15, 60b). These five I would analyze as structurally parallel to the preceding twenty. One example remains, and this is the most interesting of all, since it shows a further expansion of the preceding series, an expansion very rare for the prose, no doubt. Here we find preposition-adverb plus auxiliary verb plus personal pronoun plus past participle: ok á váru þeir minntr 'and they were reminded of (it)' (Holm 15, 28b). These last twenty-six examples show pre-removed position under exactly the same circumstances as some of those which Sturtevant demonstrates for Eddic verse (see eptir c 1, p. 6). To be sure, the verse shows additional freedom in the number of items and the classes of items which may separate the preposition-adverb from the verb, but it is not quite true to say that the prose does not show pre-removed position. The obvious conclusion is that on this point, where even Sturtevant thought that prose and verse would deviate, the two are parallel.8

This study shows that at least in one point of syntax the prose and

^{*} It occurred to me that a comparison of the preceding material with the situation in skaldic poetry might be extremely interesting, especially since thus far prose and verse agree so closely, and since skaldic verse precisely in its word order might seem to deviate most from the normal (see Sturtevant, p. 2). A sampling of 91 examples showed the following percentages: a 33 per cent, b 28.5 per cent, c 10 per cent, d 28.5 per cent. Again a leads and d is next, albeit here b equals it; again c is lowest by a significant margin. It must be emphasized that such results are strictly tentative, based as they are on a sampling. If they are any indication, however, the similarity of skaldic verse to the Eddic and to the prose in this point is striking. The results suggest that skaldic poetry, for all its deviation, had certain definite limitations which it could not, or did not exceed.

the Eddic verse do not differ as much as has been expected; indeed, they are quite close. My statistics for the prose are based on ten independent manuscripts done in their entirety, and the resulting number of examples is relatively large. Therefore I feel that these statistics are reliable. I hope that I have here strengthened the suggestion, implicit or explicit in Sturtevant's article, that syntactic comparison of prose and verse may have interesting results, and that for certain phases of syntactic investigation the statistical presentation of results is not only desirable but invaluable.

AN EXCERPT FROM TRISTRAMS SAGA

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PAUL SCHACH
University of Nebraska

AM 576b 4to is a paper manuscript written about 1700 "by or for" Árni Magnússon, eminent scholar and founder of the unique Arnamagnæan Collection of Old Norse manuscripts in Copenhagen, (Kålund, Katalog, 1433). In addition to the excerpt from Tristrams saga ok Isöndar, this MS contains extracts from and memoranda on twelve lygisögur ("lying stories") and two rimur. The Tristram excerpt (p. 19 r-v of the MS) consists of a summary of the plot, a quotation from the beginning of the saga, and two brief comments on it.

Although Tristrams saga ok Isöndar as a work of literary art is far inferior to the native sagas of Icelanders (Islendinga sögur), it is of decisive importance for the literary history of Iceland and of inestimable value for the study of the French and German versions of the Tristan story. The first of the southern metrical romances to be translated into Norwegian and then into Icelandic prose, Tristrams saga marks the beginning of an almost revolutionary change in literary taste in the North. As the only member of the Thomas group of Tristan romances to come down to us in complete form, it is indispensable for a reconstruction of the French epic of Thomas of Brittany, of which less than one-fifth is extant, as well as for a critical evaluation of the magnificent but unfinished Middle High German adaptation of Gottfried von Strassburg.

Like most of the Old Norse romances of chivalry (riddara soğur), Tristrams saga has been preserved only in Icelandic copies. Extant are three leaves from a fifteenth-century vellum (AM 567 4to) and three later paper manuscripts, two of which, AM 543 4to and IB 51 fol., antedate the excerpt by several years. The saga has been edited three

¹ On this point see H. G. Leach, Angevin Britain and Scandinavia (Cambridge 1921), Ch. VII; Margaret Schlauch, Romance in Iceland (Princeton 1934), pp. 149 ff.; and Stefán Einarsson, A History of Icelandic Literature (New York 1957), pp. 140 ff. and 162 ff.

² As the designations indicate, AM 567 and AM 543 are in the Arnamagnæan Collection in Copenhagen; IB 51 and a copy of it, JS 8 fol., are in the National Library in Reykjavík.

times: by E. Kölbing (Heilbronn, 1878), by Gísli Brynjúlfsson (Copenhagen, 1878), and by Bjarni Vilhjálmsson (Reykjavík, 1954).³

The following is the account of the story of Tristram and Isönd according to this manuscript excerpt:

The saga of Tristram and Isönd tells first of Kanelangres, who was a young knight in Brittany. His wife was Blensinbíl, the sister of King Markis of England, with whom he had a son named Tristram. He was so called because his father was killed in the war he was waging against the Bretons before the child was born, and because his mother died later of grief and in childbirth. This boy became a very fine knight. He slew Morgan, a duke, and thereby avenged his father's death. After that he overcame in single combat Móroldr, the brother of Isodd, queen of Ireland, who was supposed to collect tribute from England. Thereupon he was commissioned to fetch Isond, daughter of the king of the Irish and of Queen Isodd, as a bride for his uncle Markis. Then Tristram and Isond fell in love with each other so ardently that nothing could be done about it. Finally he left England and returned to his native country. There he took to wife Isond, the sister of Kardín and the daughter of Roaldr, his foster-father; but they loved each other little because of the love he had for Queen Isönd. Later he was wounded with a poisoned wound, and then he sent immediately for Queen Isond, who knew all cures. Arriving too late, she found Tristram dead. This caused her death. They were buried on opposite sides of the church. Up out of their tombs grew two trees, the limbs of which inter wined above the church.

After the sentence ending "because of the love he had for Queen Isönd" an entire line has been crossed out. Another line, beginning a new paragraph, has been cut off at the bottom of the page.

The other side of the page contains the saga quotation with an introductory and a concluding note:

The preface is as follows:

Here begins the story of Tristram and Queen Isönd, which tells of the irresistable love they had for each other. From the birth of Christ 1226 years had passed when this saga was written in Norwegian at the command and behest of worthy King Hákon. It was translated and written down by Brother Róbert to the best of his ability in the words and manner which follow in the story now to be told.

The saga should properly be called [the saga] of Tristrant and Isald.

Which one of the collector's various helpers or secretaries made this excerpt has not been determined. The final comment was written by Arni Magnússon himself.

³ These editions as well as the MSS were discussed in a paper "Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of *Tristrams saga*" presented at a meeting of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study held at the University of California in Berkeley on May 2, 1958.

To anyone familiar with Tristrams saga several striking discrepancies between the story and this account of it are immediately apparent. We are surprised, for example, to read that Tristram married "Isönd, the sister of Kardín and the daughter of his foster-father Róaldr." His wife was, indeed, the sister of Kardín; but she could not possibly have been the daughter of Róaldr. In the saga, as well as in Gottfried's Tristan und Isolde, her father is "a certain old duke" whose name is never mentioned. (Bjarni Vilhjálmsson lists Isodd in the index of names in his edition simply as hertogadóttir, kona Tristrams "a duke's daughter, wife of Tristram.") In AM 543 we read that after leaving the court of King Markis Tristram eventually came to Wales "to the heirs of his foster-father Róaldr, and they received him with great joy." This is essentially in agreement with Gottfried, who states that Tristan wanted to visit his foster-parents but found that Rûal (Róaldr) and his wife Floræte had already died. The writer of IB 51, however, apparently changed his mind while writing til arfa Roalds "to the heirs of Roaldr," for the last letter of arfa is left off and the uncompleted word is crossed out. It thus seems likely that the excerptor used this MS rather than the one which is now in the Arnamagnæan Collection. Since Tristram's meeting with Isodd is related just a few lines further on, the writer of the excerpt, through a hasty reading of the passage and an imperfect reminiscence of earlier portions of the story, might well have confused the anonymous duke with Róaldr, whom he would assume to be alive because the sentence, with the word "heirs" crossed out, reads "to Róaldr."4

There may also be a connection between this slip and an interesting error made apparently by Brother Róbert himself. According to Gottfried, Rûal rears Tristan as one of his own children in order to conceal the identity of the infant from Duke Morgân. He has Floræte stay in bed for several days and then present the child for baptism as her own. In the saga (Ch. 16), however, we read that Róaldr "bade his sister go to bed. And after some time had elapsed, he had her go to church and announce everywhere that she had . . . given birth to the child." The similarity between this mistake and the false identification of Tristram's wife as the daughter of Róaldr suggests the possibility that the excerptor, through a faulty recollection of Róaldr's

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⁴ JS 8 omits the word arfa entirely and writes simply til Rôalds.

hoax, compounded Brother Róbert's error. (The fact that the writer of IB 51 corrected systur to konu "wife" does not militate against my contention that the excerptor used this MS since the correct word is superimposed on systur in such a way that a casual reader would fail to understand the correction.)

The name of Tristram's wife also presents a problem. In contrast to Gottfried, who used the name $\hat{I}solt$ (and its variant form $\hat{I}s\hat{o}t$) for all three women characters, Brother Róbert or an early scribe seems to have distinguished clearly between the name of the queen of Ireland and that of her daughter. The extant vellum leaves contain no references to the women characters, but all three paper MSS consistently use the name $\hat{I}sodd$ for the queen of Ireland and $\hat{I}sodd$ for her daughter. Only once is the mother erroneously called drottning $\hat{I}sodd$ "Queen $\hat{I}sodd$ " in AM 543; IB 51 has the correct form $\hat{I}sodd$ here. The difficulty arises from assigning the name $\hat{I}sodd$ rather than $\hat{I}sodd$ to Tristram's wife, for it is the identity of the names of his sweetheart and his wife which enhances the poignancy of the tragedy.

The motif of a man's marrying the unloved namesake of a still ardently loved former wife or sweetheart is, of course, quite old. It is generally believed that the source of this motif in the Tristan romances is the story of the seventh-century Arabian poet Kais ibn Doreidsch. Forced by his parents to divorce his wife Lobna because she is barren, he later marries another woman of the same name. His words "I have lost Lobna and found Lobna" are re-echoed almost literally over five centuries later in the epic of Eilhard von Oberg

(ca. 1185):

he dachte: ich habe Isalden verlorn, Isalden habe ich weder funden.

[he thought: I have lost Isalde; Isalde I have found again.]

Gottfried, with his emphasis on psychological analysis and his penchant for punning, devotes pages to the moral and emotional dilemma of his hero, during the course of which Tristan even coins a verb based on Isolde's name (lines 19007ff.):

> min ouge, daz Isôte siht, daz selbe ensiht Isôte niht: mir ist Isôt verre und ist mir bi: ich furchte, ich aber gisôtet si zum anderen måle.

[My eye, which sees Isolde, the same does not see Isolde: Isolde is far away and close to me: I fear, however, that I once more have been enchanted by Isolde.]

Admittedly Gottfried is somewhat extravagant in this respect; his long passages of introspection and sentimental analysis are often tedious to the modern reader. But Brother Róbert, who used the same French source as Gottfried, went even further in the opposite direction, probably because he assumed that his readers in the North would consider such emotional effusions ridiculous. As a result of his ruthless pruning, he sometimes destroyed not only the poetic beauty but even the meaning of key portions of the story, such as the drinking of the potion and the torment of Tristram on his wedding night. From his account of the hero's meeting Isodd (Ch. 69 according to AM 543), it seems apparent that Róbert failed to appreciate the significance of the identity of names of Tristram's sweetheart and wife:

Kardín had a beautiful, well-mannered and gentle sister, who was wiser than all other women in that realm. Tristan became fond of her and gave her tokens of his affection. Because of that Isönd for whom he grieved, he spoke to her of love and she to him. He composed many love songs of beautiful form and eloquent words, and all kinds of lays, and in them he often pronounced the name Isönd. Tristram sang his songs before his knights and vassals, in halls and sleeping chambers, and many listened to him, among them Isodd and her kinfolk. And all thought that the songs were of her and that he loved none other than this Is. All her kinsmen were greatly pleased at this, Kardín and his brothers most of all, for they thought that Tristram loved their sister Is. and that he would remain there for the sake of that love; for they had found him to be such a good knight that they wished to love and serve him.

Kölbing, who knew only AM 543 and two leaves of the vellum MS, expanded the abbreviation *Is.* to *Isond* (which he erroneously considered to be the proper spelling of *Isönd*), but indicated in a footnote that it probably should have been interpreted *Isodd* (p. 210, note to p. 48, line 10), which is otherwise consistently used in all three paper MSS for the name of Tristram's wife. The writer of IB 51 inserted in the left-hand margin opposite the line "Kardín had a . . . sister" the words hûn hêt *Isönd* "she was called Isönd." This inter-

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⁸ In this respect, at least, the strictures of scholars about *Tristrams saga* are correct. Cf. the statement of Einar Ól. Sveinsson that "Friar Robert's translation...very nearly ruined that great love story" in his *Age of the Sturlungs*, translated by Jóhann S. Hannesson (Ithaca, N. Y. 1953), p. 41.

⁶ The writer of JS 8 incorporates this marginal addition in the text proper.

polation, however, merely adds to the confusion, for Kardín's sister immediately afterward is called Ísodd. In view of the several careless errors in this excerpt, one can hardly credit its writer with having made a "correction" which the sense of the passage demands. The confusion of names is further evidence that the excerpt is based on IB 51 rather than on AM 543.

Still another discrepancy is to be found in the quotation from the saga. In all three paper MSS the prefatory comment of the translator begins with the words Hêr skrifast sagan "Here is recorded the story." Although IB 51 is only imperfectly preserved, an error in reading scarcely seems possible. The substitution of byrjast "begins" for skrifast "is written" is evidently due to a lapsus of a different nature. In codices containing several sagas, a given work may begin anywhere on the page, immediately following the preceding one. Frequently the incipit principle was followed: Hêr hefr upp—, or Hêr hefzt sagan af—. Furthermore, the initial sentence of some sagas begins with such a conventional formula as Pat er upphaf pessarrar sögu. Thus the excerptor often had occasion to write "Here begins the saga of . . ."

And finally there is the puzzling final note of Árni Magnússon. Although the names of the hero and heroine of this saga occur in an almost infinite number of spellings in the many Scandinavian poems and tales based on the Tristan theme, there is no apparent justification of Árni's assertion that the saga "ought properly to be called af Tristrant oc Isald." One might conclude that he was not well acquainted with Tristrams saga itself, but that he was so thoroughly familiar with some other Scandinavian version of the Tristan story that he unconsciously transferred its title to the saga. This title in turn reflects the influence in Scandinavia of the Middle German Tristrant und Isalde of Eilhard von Oberg mentioned above.

The brief excerpt from AM 576b 4to casts a welcome sidelight on some aspects of the work of Årni Magnússon, indefatigable collector and student of Icelandic MSS. And since the errors in transcription and interpretation are essentially no different from those made by generations of scribes and copyists, this relatively recent excerpt also affords the non-specialist at least an inkling of the excitement and frustration which scholars experience in the intriguing attempt to reconstruct reliable texts from fragmentary mediaeval MSS and later corrupt transcripts.

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WALTER JOHNSON, Editor

BIBLIOGRAPHERS: Richard Beck, University of North Dakota; P. M. Mitchell, University of Illinois; Jens Nyholm, Northwestern University; Walter Johnson, University of Washington.

The bibliography is an annotated list of the noteworthy books, articles, and reviews dealing with the Scandinavian languages and literatures which appeared in the United States and Canada during 1959; it includes, moreover, (1) scholarly works on Scandinavian subjects Americans have had published abroad and (2) American translations from the Scandinavian. The bibliography includes primarily items of concern to those who are directly engaged in Scandinavian studies.

The year is listed only when the item is a review of a book published before 1959 or when the item is one missed in assembling the bibliography for the previous year.

The editor is particularly grateful to colleagues who have sent him either reprints or copies of or information about their publications.

Abbreviations

ABAugustana Bulletin AAPS Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science AHR American Historical Review American Literature ALARAntioch Review ASM American Swedish Monthly ASR American-Scandinavian Review BABooks Abroad BASI Bulletin, American Swedish Institute GR Germanic Review **JEGP** Journal of English and Germanic Philology Journal, Illinois State Historical Society JIHS JMHJournal of Modern History JRJournal of Religion JRT Journal of Religious Thought Lang Language LJLibrary Journal LQ Library Quarterly LuQ Lutheran Quarterly MD Modern Drama

MH	Minnesota History
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MVHR	Mississippi Valley Historical Review
NASR	Norwegian American Studies and Records
NS	New Scholasticism
NYHTB	New York Herald Tribune Book Review
NYTB	New York Times Book Review
PMLA	Publications of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
SAQ	South Atlantic Quarterly
SP	Studies in Philology
SPHQ	Swedish Pioneer Historical Quarterly
SR	Saturday Review
SS	Scandinavian Studies
TA	Theatre Arts
TI	Timarit Djodræknisfélags Islendinga
WMH	Wisconsin Magazine of History

A number within parentheses before an item refers to an entry for the same item in a previous bibliography.

For SS, 29: 2, 59-63 (for example), read Scandinavian Studies, Volume 29, Number 2, pages 59-63.

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IV. Modern Icelandic

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2141. Beck, Richard. Î âtthagana andinn leitar. Akureyri, 1957.
Rev. by Pôroddur Guðmundsson, Skirnir, CSSSII, 277-278; Loftur Bjarnason, SS, 31: 4, 193-194.

2142. Beck, Richard. Viö ljóðalindir. Árni Bjarnarson, Akureyri. Pp. 132.

Rev. by Haraldur Bessason, Icelandic Canadian, XVIII: 1, 36; Stefán Einarsson, The North Dakota Quarterly, 27: 3, 81.

2143. Eldjárn, Kristján. "The Silver Hoard from Gaulverjabær." Translated by Tryggvi J. Oleson and Heimir Thorgrimson, *Icelandic Canadian*, XVIII: 2, 11-13 and 37-41.

From Eldjárn's book Gengið å reka, Akureyri, 1948, pp. 83-95.

2144. Northern Lights. Icelandic Poems. Translated by Jakobina Johnson. Menningarsjóð, Reykjavík. Pp. 91.

Jon Dan

2145. Dan, Jón. "The Elfkin: A Short Story," ASR, XLVII: 1, 67-72.

Translated by Mekkin S. Perkins.

Guttormur J. Guttormsson

2146. Beck, Richard. "Guttormur J. Guttormsson áttræður," TI, XXXX, 1958, 7–16.

An evaluation of an Icelandic-Canadian poet at his 80-year mark.

Einar Páll Jónsson

2147. Lindal, Walter J. "Einar Páll Jónsson," *Icelandic Canadian*, XVII: 4, 17–19.

A tribute to an Icelandic-Canadian poet.

Kristjan Jonsson

2148. Jónsson, Gísli. "Íslenzkur skólaskáldskapur og Kristján Jónsson," TI, XXXX, 1958, 65–79.

Primarily consists of a previously unpublished play, Gestakoman, by the poet Kristján Jónsson (1842–1869).

Agnar Pórdarson

2149. "Episode from If Your Sword Is Short," Prairie Schooner, 33: 2, 5 ff.

V. Norwegian

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See also 1966, 1970, 2011, 2033, 2050-2053, 2063.

2150. Norman, Carl. "Traveling Theater in Norway," ASR, XLVII: 1, 25-30.

Jens Bjørneboe

2151. The Least of These. A novel translated by Bernt Jebsen and Douglas K. Stafford. Bobbs-Merrill, Indianapolis. Pp. 312. \$3.75.

Johan Bojer

2152. "Homesickness: A Short Story," ASR, XLVII: 3, 269–272. Translated by Astri Strømsted.

Synnøve Christensen

2153. Lindemann's Daughters. Translated by Mervyn Savill. Doubleday, New York, 1958. Pp. 408. \$4.95.

Knut Hamsun

2154. Næss, Harald S. "Four Hamsun Letters," Durham University Journal, Dec. 1959. Pp. 10.

Henrik Ibsen

2155. Arestad, Sverre. "Ibsen's Concept of Tragedy," PMLA, LXXIV: 3, 285-297.

2156. Corrigan, Robert W. "The Sun Always Rises: Ibsen's Ghosts as Tragedy?" Educational Theater Journal, XI: 3, 171-180.

2157 (1730). Haugen, Einar. "Ibsen in America," NASR, XX, 1-23.

Sigrid Undset

2158. Four Stories ["Selma Brøter," "Miss Smith-Tellefsen," "Thjodolf," "Simonsen"]. Translated by Naomi Walford. Knopf, New York. Pp. 246. \$3.75.

Tarjei Vesaas

2159. "Never Tell It: A Short Story," ASR, XLVII: 2, 166-171. Translated by Kenneth G. Chapman.

VI. Swedish

See also 1966, 1976, 2002, 2012, 2026, 2054-2057, 2063.

2160 (1937). Borland, Harold H. Nietzsche's Influence on Swedish Literature.

Rev. by Walter Johnson, MLQ, 19: 4, 355-356.

2161. Fleisher, Frederic. "New Literary Faces of the Nineteen-Fifties," ASM, 53: 1, 9-11.

See the rest of the January number for illuminating articles on Swedish book-publishing, Swedish books available in English, and the like.

2162. Hildeman, Karl-Ivar. Medeltid på vers: Litteraturhistoriska studier. Almqvist & Wiksell, Stockholm, 1958. Pp. 259. 25 crowns.

Rev. by Holger-Olof Nygard, SS, 31: 4, 184-187.

2163. Lawson, Evald Benjamin. "An Ancient Swedish Christmas Hymn," ASR, XLVII: 4, 328-331. ["Den signade dag"]

2164. Steffensen, Steffen. Rilke und Skandinavien. Zwei Vorträge. Copenhagen, 1958.

Rev. by George C. Schoolfield, GR, 34: 2, 159–161; Ernst W. Oppenheimer, JEGP, 58: 4, 719–720.

2165. Whicher, Stephen E. "Swedish Knowledge of American Literature 1920–1952: A Supplementary Bibliography," *JEGP*, 58: 4, 666–671.

Ola Hansson

2166. Ahlström, Stellan. Ola Hansson. Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, 1958. Pp. 99. 7: 25 crowns.

Rev. by Carl J. Engblom, SS, 31: 2, 99-100.

2167. Holm, Ingvar. Ola Hansson: En studie i åttitalsromantik. Gleerup, Lund, 1957. Pp. 508.

Rev. by George C. Schoolfield, JEGP, LVIII: 2, 359-363.

Verner von Heidenstam

2168. Björck, Staffan. "Verner von Heidenstam," Vasastjärnan, 52: 10, 6-8.

Translated by Michael Phillips.

2169. "A Clean White Shirt," Vasastjärnan, 52: 10, 8-9. A short story translated by Charles Wharton Stork.

Rev. by Edward O. North, SPHQ, X: 3, 120.

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Carl von Linné

2170. Hagberg, Knut. Carl Linnaeus. Translated by Alan Blair. Dutton, New York. Pp. 264. \$4.75.

Erik Axel Karlfeldt

2171. Hildeman, Karl-Ivar. "The Evolution of "Längtan heter min arvedel," SS, 31: 2, 47-64.

Vilhelm Moberg

2172. "Help at Threshing Time," ASR, XLVII: 4, 365-372. A short story translated by Signhild V. Gustafson.

Ernst Norlind

2173. Schoolfield, G. C. "Ernst Norlind: Scanian Leonardo," BA, 134-138.

Birger Sjöberg

2174. Engblom, Carl J. "Birger Sjöberg," ASR, XLVII: 2, 159-163.

August Strindberg

2175. The Saga of the Folkungs; Engelbrekt. Translations and Introductions by Walter Johnson. University of Washington Press, Seattle. Pp. x+204. \$4.

Rev. by Carl E. W. L. Dahlström, SS, 31: 3, 139–141; Richard B. Vowles, SPHQ, X: 2, 78–80.

2176. The Vasa Trilogy: Master Olof, Gustav Vasa, Erik XIV. Translations and Introductions by Walter Johnson. University of Washington Press, Seattle. Pp. x+341. \$6.

Rev. by Carl E. W. L. Dahlström, SS, 31: 3, 139–141; Richard B. Vowles, SPHQ, X: 2, 78–80.

2177. Berendsohn, Walter A. "Strindberg's Ensam: A Study in Structure and Style," SS, 31: 4, 168-179.

2178. "Berns," ASM, 53: 6, 10-13.

The Stockholm restaurant, a locale for Röda rummet.

2179. Letters of Strindberg to Harriet Bosse. Edited and translated by Arvid Paulson. Nelson, New York. Pp. x+194. \$5.

Rev. by Walter Johnson, SPHQ, X: 4, 147–148; Richard B. Vowles, ASR, XLVII: 4, 393–394.

2180. Steene, Birgitta. "Shakespearean Elements in Historical Plays of Strindberg," CL, XI: 3, 209-220.

2181. Winther, S. K. "Strindberg and O'Neill: A Study of Influence," SS, 31: 3, 103-120.

Emanuel Swedenborg

2182. Malin, James C. "William Sutton White, Swedenborgian Publicist," Kansas Historical Quarterly, XXIV: 4, 426-457; XXV: 1, 68-103; 2, 197-228.

2183. Spalding, John Howard. Introduction to Swedenborg's Religious Thought, Swedenborg Publ. Assn., Byrn Athyn, Pa. Pp. 235. \$2.

REVIEWS

Ralph Paul de Gorog. The Scandinavian Element in French and Norman. A Study of the Influence of the Scandinavian Languages on French from the Tenth Century to the Present. Bookman Associates, New York, 1958. Pp. 168. \$4.

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Dr. de Gorog is assistant professor of Romance languages and German in the University of Georgia, and his book, listed on the cover but not on the title page as belonging to the "Bookman Monograph Series," is a trimmed version of his 1954 doctoral dissertation at Columbia University. The book contains two main sections of which Part I offers a "Comparative Phonology of Old Danish and the Romance of Northwestern France in the Late 9th Century," while the longer Part II is a numbered list of three hundred or so French and Norman words for which Scandinavian origin has been claimed, treated alphabetically under such headings as Naval Architecture and Navigation. For each word there is critical etymological comment with concise references to previous treatments. Further features are tables of abbreviations, a partial list of phonetic symbols, a general introduction, half a dozen pages of footnotes, separate indices of the French and Scandinavian words involved, and a classified bibliography, eleven pages in length.

Obviously the fruit of much honest labor, the de Gorog volume will be of great interest, not merely to lexicographers and specialists in Romance linguistics but to those who, for philological or historical reasons, are interested in the Viking Age. When even today the historical evidence is slender for the precise antecedents of Duke Rollo, one turns all the more eagerly to what linguistics can tell us of the Scandinavian invaders and their cultural impact upon the French. Still unresolved is the question of which Northern countries and provinces furnished the majority of the early Normans. De Gorog refers to them as Danes and to their language as Danish, which term he uses as equivalent to (Old) East Scandinavian, that is, OSwed, ODan. Quite regularly, however, both in the Introduction and in the etymological discussions, he uses the general term Old Norse (and ON) either without restrictive definition or as the ostensible equivalent of ODan, for which he nevertheless sets up Old Icelandic (p. 152) as his linguistic and orthographical standard. As the classical language of our texts, OIcel is the standard against which diverging diafects are measured; but whether non-Scandinavianists will find their way in this terminological maze is at least doubtful.

The three hundred words treated by the author boil down to rather fewer than that when subtractions are made for duplications. Though this reviewer misses the brief statistical table or summary of results which would clarify exactly what the author has achieved beyond his predecessors, it must be said that de Gorog has effectively winnowed the grain from the chaff in each individual instance. Subjecting the often diffuse treatments of previous investigators to calm scrutiny under rational criteria, he rejects Scandinavian etymologies for some Norman-French words while reinstating others to which, on inadequate grounds involving chronology or other factors, had been assigned English, Dutch, or general Germanic origins. The net total is a slight gain for the Scandinavian influence which, to be sure, is concentrated chiefly upon certain aspects of material culture, above all fishing, navigation, and the construction of ships.

If de Gorog's study has a conspicuous weakness it is in the phonological portions,

which lack consistency. Indeed, the writer seems not clearly to distinguish, with either Danish or French, between phonetic symbols as such, particular phonemes, and ordinary orthography, a fact that invests the treatise with an undeserved appearance of naïveté. The subject of long and short vowels, for example, is quite confused. Many of these ambiguities would have been cleared away through the setting up of a simple table of correspondences. De Gorog's standard for ODan—when he really means Old Danish!—is P. Skautrup, an acceptable authority; numerous other Scandinavian

scholars are cited in addition and used intelligently.

Not versed in problems of Romance linguistics, the reviewer accepts most of de Gorog's well pondered etymologies at face value. The latter is involved in an inconsistency (p. 77) in equating ON tanganum>ONorman *tangne>OF tangre with the process (p. 81) ODan *hafn (ON hofn)>OF hafne etc.>F havre. *hafn is nom. or accus. indef., whereas tanganum is not merely a dat. pl., as stated by the author, but has the dat. pl. def. art. attached, this introducing an additional factor of semantic and phonological significance. On p. 82 the author derives F vague, ONorm wages, from ON vág-r, gen. vágs, whereas on p. 35 he has derived the French word from the ON plural. On p. 20, de Gorog's statement that "ON bát-r 'boat' was taken from Anglo-Saxon probably long after 900" is quite possible but open to great doubt, cf. Jóhannesson, Isl. Etym. Wb., pp. 948f.

Simple misprints in this book are few; the reviewer has noted baratta for baratta (p. 37), hoo for hoo (p. 39), both correct in the index; a supposed ODan *grūnn and OIcel grūnns, grūnns for grunns, grunns (pp. 81, 154); blakki for blakkr (pp. 116, 152);

"t" erroneously serving as a voiced labial spirant (p. 25).

On p. 130, the author finds "unexplained" the vowel u in the modern F loan-word from Swedish, rutabaga, first attested for France in 1803. That is (the reviewer assumes), in the Swedish dialect word rotabagge 'turnip,' the long o /u/ ought to have given F ou rather than u/y/. The rutabaga or swede (Brassica napobrassica) was successfully cultivated in England before 1800. There would be no difficulty, if the Swedish plant conspicuous for its long yellow root had reached England along with its name, influenced by oral contact; and if the name—with or without the plant—had come via England to France in the anglicized version and through literary sources.

To sum it up, Professor de Gorog's critical survey has performed a valuable service to Scandinavian as well as Romance philology and history, and his book will certainly be referred to by all who have to deal with the linguistics of Norman France.

ERIK WAHLGREN
University of California,
Los Angeles

Eyfirðinga sögur. Víga-Glúmssaga. Ögmundar þáttr dytts. Þorvalds þáttr tasalda. Svarfdæla saga. Þorleifs þáttr jarlsskálds. Valla-Ljóts saga. Sneglu-Halla þáttr. Þorgríms þáttr Hallasonar (Íslenzk fornrit IX bindi). Edited by Jónas Kristjánsson. Hið íslenzka Fornritafélag, Reykjavík, MCMLVI. Pp. cxix+327.

The sagas and short stories (pattir) united in this volume because they all stem from the district of Eyjafjörör are really quite different and that because they stem from different periods of saga writing and because some of the short stories are legendary rather than heroic in temper.

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Sigurður Nordal thought that Glúma was the first saga written in Eyjafjörðr after Sturla Sighvatsson had brought Egils saga north there in 1230. But after scrutinizing all the possible literary relationships that Gluma has with other sagas and Sturlunga. the present editor cannot narrow the date of composition any further than to the years 1220-1250, for the evidence often seems to work at cross purposes; it is, for instance, sometimes difficult to decide whether Gluma's author borrowed from Snorri or vice versa. One chapter of Gluma, the so-called Ingólfs búttr, combines an echo from an exemplum about a tested friend from Disciplina clericalis—translated much later in Islenzk afint fri-with historical events, related in Sturlunga during the year 1222 (The man killed in Sturlunga is called Hafr, the one in Gluma Kalfr). Another episode in Glúma, Skútu þáttr, cannot be written by Glúma's author not only because it seems clearly fictitious, but also because it shows unfamiliarity with localities in Eviafjöror while Gluma's author is obviously familiar with them. Now this Skutu battr seems, according to our editor, to be patterned on a passage in Valla-Ljóts saga, and has in turn been borrowed by the still later Reykdæla saga. Our editor considers Valla-Ljóls saga to be old, perhaps as old or older than Gluma, written mostly from local traditions; and not too well written; its faults are probably the marks of tradition. It purports to be a continuation of a Svarfdæla saga, though not the one presented in this volume, but an older one, now completely lost. This gives the relative chronological order: *Svarfdæla-Valla-Ljóts saga-Skútu þáttr-Reykdoela. Valla-Ljóts saga according to the editor belongs in the period 1220-1240; it has been used by the author of Bolla battr, which belongs to the last quarter of the century. The Svarfdæla saga, here printed, is quite different from the lost saga; the editor puts it at 1300 or later. The author knows his locality not less than the others but he fills it with good ghost stories and fictitious motifs like the kolbitr (slow witted fool) story and the taming of the shrew. He starts by using Örvar-Odds saga, Egils saga and Vatnsdæla saga to fashion after them the stories of borsteinn svörfuðr's viking raids before he becomes a settler in Svarfaðardalr. In the middle part of his saga, parts of which are lost, he uses Gluma among other things, presumably, the lost Svarfdæla. The last part is made up of two stories, both occurring in Saxo Grammaticus: the story of Hamlet and the story of Haldanus and Guritha (Halfdan and Gyríðr). Since Saxo wrote his book ca. 1200 Svarfdæla's author might have got the stories straight out of his book. But our editor does not consider it likely. The Icelander's knew Amlooa saga before Snorri's time and up to the seventeenth century, motifs from it occur in Hrólfs saga kraka when the brothers Hróarr and Helgi ride untamed colts to avenge their father. Karl ómáli is speechless as a child and when he grows up he feigns insanity and rides an untamed colt in order to avenge his father. In Saxo's story of Haldanus and Guritha, Haldan had received a cut lip in battle, and when he wooed Guritha, she twitted him with his low birth and the cut in his lip. He promised to make amends for his cut lip with heroic deeds, felled twelve berserks and finally became king of Denmark and married Guritha. In Svarfdæla Skíði is a freed man who marries Yngvildr fögrkinn and has three sons with her. She has caused the death of Karl ómáli's father. He therefore kills her three sons and drags her husband Skíði along the ground so that his lip is cut, but he lets him escape. He takes Yngvildr and asks her whether the cut in Skíði's lip is filled. Her answer is yes. Then he sells her three times into slavery. The third time her answer is no. Her spirit has been broken. The character of Yngvildr has attracted modern novelists, even in Iceland (Sigurjón Jónsson).

Ögmundar þáttr dytts is extremely heroic: a man goes to the royal court in Norway just to take vengeance, and returns without stopping; the motif of exchanging clothes for deception purposes is, probably rather common in the sagas. Because of this exchange of clothes the innocent Gunnar helmingr has to flee to Sweden where he is saved by a priestess of Frey and finally takes the part of Frey in the cult, becoming the husband of the priestess. This is an invaluable information about old heathen practices (cf. Tacitus, Nerthus), but the battr is in reality written from the Christian point of view; hence legendary as might be expected from its connection with Ólafs saga Tryggvasonar. Porvalds báttr tasalda, connected with the same missionary king, is even more of a fullblooded legend. The hero of borgrims battr Hallasonar is a great friend of Saint Olafr but his defence of his friend is hardly marked by Christian humility but rather the heathen code of honor. The introduction of borvalds battr jarlsskalds (or jarlaskálds) is quite legendary or at least clerical in style as is also the introduction of Hallbjörn skáld and his desire to learn how to compose poetry by dreaming porleifr on his mound. He got as far as Hêr liggr skâld, but when porleifr appeared to him he completed the stanza: Her liggr skáld þats skálda. Similarly the cleric who wanted to compose an inscription on Beda's grave: Hac sunt in fossa, but later found it completed to Bedae venerabilis ossa. Our editor thinks that porleifs pattr has used the lost Svarfdæla and dates from about 1300 or later. The earl who was calumniated and cursed by borleifr was Hákon Hladajarl. The only þáttr left is Sneglu-Halla þáttr and there is nothing legendary about it. It must date from the first quarter of the thirteenth century since it is found incorporated in Morkinskinna as well as in Flateyjarbók. It is extremely humorous tending to be smutty; it is perhaps not without reason that Haraldr haroraoi, who had be a leader of the Varangians in Constantinople, should be so fond of jokes with homosexual undertones. Halli approaches the status of a court fool in this battr.

STEFÁN EINARSSON
The Johns Hopkins University

Ejder, Bertil. Skånes ortnamn. Serie A: Bebyggelsenamn. Del I, Albo härad. Utgivna av Sydsvenska ortnamnssällskapet och Landsmålsarkivet i Lund. Lund, 1958, Pp. 126. 15 crowns.

In the November 1959 issue of this journal I reviewed the latest volume in the series Ortnamnen i Göteborgs- och Bohus län; and at the same time I also gave a brief sketch of the work that is being done at two centers for Swedish place-name research, Svenska ortnamnsarkivet in Uppsala and Institutet för ortnamns- och dialektforskning i Göteborg. It can now be reported that a third institution, Sydsvenska ortnamnssällskapet, together with Landsmålsarkivet i Lund, has initiated a new series, called Skånes ortnamn, which will be devoted to the names of Sweden's southernmost province.

It goes without saying that the editors have had to draw heavily on Danish material, this being an old Danish province, just as the Gothenburg archives have to consider the strong Norwegian influence in the south-western area. The pattern followed is very much the same as in Sveriges orinamn, published by the Royal Place-Name

Commission at Uppsala. It seems to the reviewer, however, that the sure grasp of the work which has been a characteristic of the later Uppsala editions is somewhat lacking here. On the other hand, it would be unfair to make any definite appraisal on the basis of this first sample.

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As always in a work of this kind, there are interpretations which appear less convincing and can be questioned, and a few might be pointed out. What probably will puzzle many readers is how the obvious flaws in the author's reasoning in his discussion of Kivik (p. 64 f.)—the name of the famous market place—can have escaped the attention of the editorial board. An older suggestion that the first element is the noun kvi 'pen, fold etc.' is rejected, and the reason given is that the word seems to be unknown in this particular region. That being the case, one might have expected a reference to a word with better local documentation. Instead the author refers to a hypothetical j-derivation from a root *ku3- or *kau3- meaning 'cavity' or 'bay', a word that is not only unknown in this region, but whose origin is obscure. Thus, his reason for rejecting the old etymology is surprising. But that isn't all. The presumed etymology also presents difficulties in the explanation of the later forms of the name. The climax comes, however, in the end when the semantic result is presented: a name meaning "bay-bay", since the two elements would be synonyms. The treatment of this name is a good illustration of how the etymologist should not work. - The name of the cottage Jungfruhuset (p. 59) is said to contain jungfru 'unmarried young woman of noble birth'. It is hard to see the connection between a lady of such a station and the cottage. More likely, this is a derogatory name, formed to the compound jungfruhus 'house of ill fame'.

Gösta Franzen
University of Chicago

Kalevala. Fyrri hluti. Karl Ísfeld íslenzkaði. Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs. Reykjavík, 1957. Pp. 168. 120 Icelandic crowns.

Anyone familiar with Icelandic literature of the past hundred years cannot fail to be impressed by the numerous and often highly successful translations of foreign masterpieces, individual poems and larger works alike, with which Icelandic literature has been enriched during that period. A mere enumeration, not to say a discussion of these, would go far beyond the limits of this review. For further information on that score, see my History of Icelandic Poets 1800-1940 (Cornell University Press, 1950).

Since 1940 some very noteworthy additions from various languages have been made. Among these probably the most significant individual contribution is the translation of the first part of the *Kalevala* by Karl Isfeld, a Reykjavík newspaperman with several able prose translations to his credit, and a gifted poet, whose previous poems, original and translated, showed notable descriptive ability and mastery of form. His translation of the *Kalevala* is all the more welcome, as it is the first rendition into Icelandic of the famous Finnish national epic.

The translation includes about one third of the original series of poems. Isfeld has abbreviated the work considerably, and many of these omissions are doubtless justified in view of the repetitions which abound in the original. I regret the omission of the episode dealing with Lemminkäinen's third test of strength, his hunting of the firebreathing horse.

Aside from such deliberate abbreviations, the translation appears to be highly

accurate, an evaluation based on a comparison with both a Swedish and an English translation, as this reviewer, unfortunately, does not know the Finnish language.

In accordance with traditional Icelandic rules of versification, Isfeld uses alliteration regularly throughout his translation, and also employs internal rhymes, halfrhymes and end-rhymes. His translation thus departs from the original, but his dexterous use of these metrical devices enhances the sonorous effects, increases the variety of the metrical form, and gives to the translation a thoroughly Icelandic flavor. Thus Isfeld uses the hrymhenda-form very effectively, not least in many of the graphic nature descriptions, which are such a characteristic and a striking part of the Kalevala.

This first part of Karl Isfeld's translation of the Kalevala fully deserves the high praise which it has received from Icelandic poets and critics. Finnish writers who know Icelandic have also praised it warmly for its general faithfulness to the original, and even more so for succeeding in reproducing the spirit of the great Finnish epic.

The translation was appropriately published at the time of the official visit to Iceland of President Urho Kekkonen of the Finnish Republic in August in 1957. Gylfi b. Gíslason, Iceland's Minister of Education, writes a concise introduction outlining the cultural ties between Finnland and Iceland and the similarities in the life and history of the two nations.

The book is very attractively printed, with pictures and decorations by the noted Finnish painter, Akseli Gallen-Kallela, who has illustrated many editions of the *Kalevala*, which, in turn, has inspired his paintings.

RICHARD BECK University of North Dakota

Collectio Holbergiana. En samling skrifter av och om Ludvig Holberg skänkt till Göteborgs stadsbibliotek av apotekaren fil. dr Gustaf Bernström. Katalog upprättad av Lage Hulthén. (Acta bibliothecae goloburgensis, V). [Wettergren & Kerber, Göteborg] 1959. Pp. 170+(1). 20 crowns.

The Gothenburg collection of Holbergiana has been delineated by F. J. Billeskov Jansen in a contribution to Bok-och bibliotekshistoriska studier tillägnade Gustaf Bernström, Stockholm, 1947, pp. 14–32. The function of this catalogue is to list nearly 600 items by and about Ludvig Holberg which are to be found in the Gothenburg city library (including, on pp. 168–170, a number of titles recently acquired from the library of the late Carl S. Petersen). Descriptions of individual copies, with information about their previous owners, contribute to the history of literary taste during the past two centuries.

The catalogue also contains a few corrections and additions to the standard Holberg-bibliography constituting volumes X-XII of Ehrencron-Müller's Forfatterlexikon. On pp. 165–167 there is a useful concordance between listings in the catalogue itself and in Ehrencron-Müller. There are of course several editions and translations which have been published since the Forfatterlexikon was completed, as, for example, a new Russian translation (1957) of some of Holberg's plays (unfortunately not enumerated). Of particular note are the description and facsimile of the title-page of Nicolas Jonge's version of Synopsis Historiae Universalis from the year 1762 and two other items not in Ehrencron-Müller: a Swedish edition of the Fabler from 1771, and a French edition of Niels Klim with the (presumably incorrect) date 1788 on the title-page. The catalogue

also locates an additional copy of the first Swedish translation of *Jeppe* and describes variant copies of two pirated editions of *Peder Paars* and a variant copy of the 1832 edition of the *Fabler*.

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One could reasonably assume that the catalogue would transcribe titles with accuracy. Although at first glance the catalogue gives the appearance of having been meticulously compiled, the transcriptions are not dependable. Nor has the compiler even hewed to the curious and indefensible principle announced in his introduction, that "Användningen av stora begynnelsebokstäver har normaliserats efter språkbruket vid den tid arbetet utkom, oavsett titelbladets skrivsätt." Moreover, the first words of the titles are given in capitals, without regard for the title-page itself. The result is bibliographical confusion which could have been avoided merely by diplomatic transcription. The arbitrary treatment of titles means that there may be six or eight minor discrepancies between the title-page and its listing in the catalogue. Since the transcriptions are not bibliographically reliable, it can serve little purpose to point out small errors, as, for example, till for til in the title of the first entry, Holberg's Introduction, or the failure to indicate the printer's error on the title-page of the second part of the third entry, Moralske Kierne.

If the Gothenburg collection is as weak as it seems in secondary material, scholars may find it difficult to profit by the many early editions of Holberg's works which it contains.

P. M. MITCHELL University of Illinois

Lagerroth, Erland. Landskap och natur i Gösta Berlings saga och Nils Holgersson. Bonniers, Stockholm, 1958. Pp. 440+viii. 38 Swedish crowns.

Erland Lagerroth's study of landscape and nature in Gösta Berlings saga and Nils Holgersson is a voluminous and learned work containing a wealth of interesting and significant observations. It is the result of much close and wide reading by a great admirer of Selma Lagerióf's art. After having read Lagerroth's patient and dedicated work, the reader is left with the definite impression that her artistry has finally been given the high evaluation that it justly deserves. In a brief review it is, unfortunately, only possible to deal with a few aspects of the book that the present reviewer has found particularly significant.

The first four chapters, the most significant in the book, deal with landscape and nature in Gösta Berlings saga. The following three chapters seem less relevant and seem to destroy the essential unity of the volume, dealing as they do with a different kind of work altogether, Nils Holgersson.

A close textual analysis in the first chapter establishes the evidence for several of the arguments to be presented in the second chapter. In his analysis of the epic role played by the landscape in the novel Lagerroth shows that Selma Lagerlöf tends to alternate between different points of view, a fact which allows for widely different explanations of the series of catastrophes that sweep across the district during the reign of the Cavaliers at Ekeby. Lagerroth also demonstrates the profound interrelationship between man and nature that exists in the novel, a relationship which he defines in epic terms as "counterpoint composition."

In the second chapter Lagerroth argues most convincingly that Lagerlöf was not

the naive story-teller that she has often been presented as being, a legend which she herself helped to establish. Much points to the fact, on the contrary, that she was a highly conscious artist whose novels were the result of much methodical labor, and that, from an intellectual point of view, she was quite sophisticated. A few years ago Nils Åke Sjöstedt demonstrated in his study of the influence of Kierkegaard on Swedish literature that Selma Lagerlöf was well acquainted with the moral and religious problems debated in the nineteenth century. Here Lagerroth maintains and illustrates the fact that her conception of nature was not a simple derivation from the popular beliefs and folk legends of Värmland but a rather sophisticated "pan-psychic" view, derived from a wide reading of German and English romanticism, and from contact with the ideas of a number of influential nineteenth-century thinkers.

There has been in the past a tendency to think of Selma Lagerlöf as a writer with rather simple views, and it still persists in many quarters (the present reviewer is among the guilty ones). Lagerroth argues very convincingly that, on the contrary, Selma Lagerlöf felt a deeply rooted division within herself, and had to grapple at length with the problem of how to develop a literary form that would be able to express this profound ambivalence (p. 96). In his analysis of her use of shifting points of view Lagerroth has defined one of the modes of expression that Lagerlöf used in order to render her feeling

of the variety and contradictoriness of life (p. 115).

By tracing the interaction between man and nature in the European novel since pre-romanticism Lagerroth is also able to demonstrate the significance of Gösta Berlings saga within this tradition. Unlike the pre-romantic or the romantic novel in which the landscape is used for symbolic purposes, or the early realistic novel in which it is often mere backdrop, Gösta Berlings saga is a novel in which the landscape is both symbol and concrete fact. Thus it can best be compared to the novels of Hardy, e.g. Tess of the d'Urbervilles. Dorothy van Ghent's comments about the latter might, as Lagerroth points out, equally well be applied to Gösta Berlings saga: "symbolic depth is communicated by the physical surface of things with unhampered transparency while the homeliest conviction of fact is preserved." (p. 349).

ERIC O. JOHANNESSON University of California, Berkeley

Johnson, Mrs. Jakobína. Northern Lights: Icelandic Poems, translated by Jakobína Johnson, Bókaútgáfa Menningarsjóðs (published by the Cultural Fund of the Icelandic Government), Reykjavík, Iceland, 1959. Pp. 91.

In reviewing Kertaljós: (original poems in Icelandic by Mrs. Johnson) in the August 1957 issue of Scandinavian Studies, this reviewer presented a short biographical study of Mrs. Johnson, the undisputed queen of Icelandic-American poets. It would be repetitious to adduce at this time a similar biography. Suffice it to say that Jakobína Johnson, the daughter of the poet Sigurbjörn Jóhannesson, was born in Iceland, came to the new world at the age of five, grew up in southwestern Manitoba, speaking both Icelandic and English, and developed unusual poetic talent in both languages. She taught school for a short time before marrying and moving to Seattle where she has lived since 1908. Here she is loved and respected not only by the Icelandic and Scandinavian community but is honored throughout the area for her unflagging efforts to

promote good will and to extend through lectures and readings an interest in literary and cultural activities.

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For years her home has been open to Icelanders traveling on the west coast of North America and especially to Icelandic students studying in schools and universities of the new world. Last summer (1959) these students—many of them now eminently successful business and professional people in Iceland—recognized her former kindness and generosity by inviting her to visit her native country at their expense. This she did. While she was there the President of Iceland presented her with the Grand Cross of the Order of the Falcon "for extending the boundaries of Icelandic culture." The government, through its cultural fund, also undertook to publish this book. Thus Iceland follows its traditional policy of honoring its cultural and literary leaders.

In addition to many original poems and translations which she has allowed to appear during the years in different periodicals, Mrs. Johnson has published the following books of poems: Kertaljós (Candlelight), 1938; second edition in 1939; Så ég svani (I Saw Swans), 1942; Kertaljós, 1956; and, finally, the volume under review. The 1956 edition of Kertaljós included the poems of the two previous books together with many additions. It also included pictures of Mrs. Johnson and an excellent essay on the life and works of the poetess by Fridrik A. Fridriksson.

The present slim volume, as the title might suggest, takes its name from one of the better known poems of Einar Benediktsson which Jakobína has translated and placed first in the book. Here is rich treasure indeed! In such a modest volume not everything of beauty in the poetic tradition of Iceland can be included, but nothing has been admitted that has not been refined and polished until it reflects not only the beauty of the original but also the genius of the translator.

That Jakobína Johnson is endowed with rare poetic genius will be disputed by no one who takes the time to peruse this volume. These translations are poetic gems and will be recognized as such whether one can read the original or not. Examples of her artistry are so numerous that one scarcely knows which to select. Perhaps Jónas Hallgrímsson's "Alfareiðin" will illustrate as well as any the delicacy of touch, the feeling for mood, and the exquisite choice of words characteristic of Jakobína Johnson in her translations as in her original poetry.

Moonlight

(Adapted from Heine)

Dreaming in the moonlight I lingered near a wood— Little elves came riding about me where I stood. Sounding elfin bugles they burst upon my sight, Chiming their bells in the clear, starry night.

Spurring snowy chargers they rode along the ground
—Charger's hoofs a twinkling though making not a sound.
Bright as northern swans flying o'er the heather brown
White feathers shining and songs floating down.

Laughing as she hailed me, the queen of night went by, Riding to her palace beneath the mountain high. Does she know the secret that troubles me of late, Sounding a warning that tells of my fate? Most of those who will care to examine the translation critically will have the original at hand, but for those who do not have a copy, the Icelandic version is as follows:

Alfareivin

Stóð ég úti í tunglaljósi, stóð ég út við skóg; stórir komu skarar, af álfum var þar nóg; blésu þeir á sönglúðra og bar þá að mer fljótt og bjöllurnar gullu á heiðskírri nott.

Hleyptu þeir á fannhvítum hestum yfir grund, hornin jóa gullroðnu blika við lund, eins og þegar álftir af ísa grárri spöng fljúga suður heiði með íjaðraþyt og söng.

Heilsaði hún mér drottningin og hló að mér um leið, hló að mér og hleypti hestinum á skeið. Var það út af ástinni ungu, sem ég ber? Eða var það feigðin, sem kallar að mér?

It is difficult to say whether Jónas evidenced greater poetic genius in his translation of the German original, or whether Jakobína Johnson has surpassed the most lyrically gifted of the Icelanders. In any event, English literary tradition is now the richer for having this lovely addition.

Those who are acquainted with Icelandic literature will be happy to find in Northern Lights translations of the poetry not only of Jónas Hallgrímsson and Einar Benediktsson but also of Matthías Jochumsson, Bjarni Thorarensen, Thorsteinn Erlingsson, Davíð Stefánsson, and a great many others. Even the Icelandic-American poets are represented: Stephan G. Stephansson (who has been called the greatest poet of the western hemisphere), Guttormur J. Guttormsson, Einar Páll Jónsson, and others. Altogether 55 poems by 31 authors have been deftly translated for the enjoyment and pleasure of the English-speaking world. It is incomparably the best selection of Icelandic poetry published in the past several years.

LOPTUR BJARNASON
U. S. Naval Postgraduate School

Scandinavian Democracy. Development of Democratic Thought & Institutions in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. Edited by J. A. Lauwreys. The Danish Institute, the Norwegian Office of Cultural Relations, and the Swedish Institute, in Cooperation with the American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York, 1958. Pp. 437.

Scandinavian Democracy is based on a larger work, Nordisk demokrati (Halversen & Larsen Forlag, Oslo; Natur och Kultur, Stockholm; and Westermann, Copenhagen, 1949), edited by Professors Hal Koch and Alf Ross of the University of Copenhagen. Written by more than a score of the leading authorities in the respective areas, university professors for the most part, Nordisk demokrati sought to answer the question of why certain developments had taken place in northern Europe and why the social, political and economic institutions and organizations had undergone certain developments, which in turn had created a climate for their progressive democracy. The present book, which in part is a translation of a major portion of the earlier work, also seeks to answer the question. All of the material has been brought up to date, some chapters have been revised, others have been consolidated, seven chapters are new, seven sec-

tions by the editor are likewise new, and at least one substitution has been made. Thus, the chapter on "Christianity and Democracy," by Eivind Berggrav, replaces the original one on the same subject by Hal Koch, and the present "Development of Political Democracy in Scandinavia," by Johs. Andenæs, combines three chapters of the original, written, respectively, by a Dane, a Norwegian, and a Swede, on the development of political democracy and the nature of political organizations in their respective countries.

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The seven new chapters, all by new contributors, describe developments, whose patterns were apparent a decade ago, but whose nature and influence have now become clearly defined: "State Intervention and Economic Freedom," "Disputes and Tensions in Industry," "Theater and Cinema," "Broadcasting and Democracy," "Nordic Cooperation, Past and Present," "Scandinavia and the World," (the 1949 work treated only Scandinavia's relationship to the USSR) and "Some General Observations on Social Democracy." Five of Mr. Lauwreys' seven sections, two of only two pages and the others of less than ten, serve to lend cohesion to the work as a whole. But he has also written an introductory section of almost forty pages, in which he gives pertinent and practical information for the English reader, which a Scandinavian audience does not require, and a final chapter on the importance of the small nations as seen through the eyes of a member of a large nation. It is not just Mr. Lauwreys' introductions to the respective divisions of the present work that give it greater unity than the original had, but also the fact that he has rearranged the chapters of the original. Thus, for example, chapters 12, 18 and 23 of the original become respectively chapters 2, 6 and 11 of the present work.

I disagree with one important rearrangement that Mr. Lauwreys has made. One of the best chapters in the whole book is that by Professor Gunnar Heckscher of the University of Stockholm, "The Role of Voluntary Organizations in Swedish Democracy." This is a classic analysis of its kind. Mr. Lauwreys has placed it in Section III, The Heritage of History, but it definitely belongs in Section V, Economic Life in Scandinavia, together with "State Intervention and Economic Freedom," "Disputes and Tensions in Industry," and "Economic Democracy." The voluntary organizations (the trade unions, here) and the employers' association, for example, who fulfill their purpose by maintaining peace in industry, are able to carry out this function only because they build upon fundamental democratic traditions. This is also true of the producers and the consumers' cooperatives, who, after a showdown shortly after the war, decided to settle their differences amicably. The voluntary organizations are products of a democratic tradition, and, indeed, serve to strengthen that tradition, but they are not a distinct, integral part of the democratic tradition itself.

Some of the original material omitted from the present work was of high quality, philosophical and theoretical, and it is unfortunate that the lack of space prevented its inclusion. There is, however, one regrettable omission, "Familjen" (The Family), pp. 377–394, by Birgitta v. Hofsten. This essay appeared to me to throw abundant light upon the manner in which recent industrial development and urban concentration have affected the family, and in turn how this has affected attitudes. It serves, in large part, to answer many of the questions regarding the increase of juvenile delinquency in present-day Scandinavia, and thus points up some of the evils attendant upon material progress.

To my mind, this is the most satisfactory work that has yet appeared in English on Northern Europe. It presents the nature of progressive democracy in all of Scandinavia, and yet it does not neglect the individual differences among the three countries. It treats the important subject of regional collaboration as well as the equally important question of Scandinavia's relation to the world. In spite of its extensive coverage, Scandinavian Democracy has unity and cohesion. It would serve as an excellent textbook on Scandinavian democratic practice and regionalism for the American college student.

SVERRE ARESTAD
University of Washington

Christensen, William. Saga of the Tower. Lutheran Publishing House, Blair, Nebraska, 1959, 242 pages plus Appendices and Index. \$3.

This history of Dana College and Trinity Seminary appears at the time of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the institution, and tells us much about the religious activities of a large segment of Danish immigration to America. Probably the most spontaneous reaction felt by the reader is how similar is the story of the Scandinavian churches as they sought to find themselves in a new country. With meager financial resources the majority of their constituents considered it impossible to do more than care for themselves and their families. But here and there a brave soul dared believe that there were spiritual treasures worth striving for, and would sacrifice himself to realize a vision.

In 1948 Dana dedicated its new administration and classroom building, and in the following year placed a bronze plaque on the walls of this Pioneer Hall. It was named "in memory of A. M. Andersen, K. Anker, C. X. Hansen, P. S. Vig, G. B. Christiansen and many other faithful men and women who contributed to the development and influence of Dana College and Trinity Seminary." (p. 193) This book is the story of these men and women. Against almost insuperable difficulties and working with barest necessities they gradually built a school that has done honor to the Danish name and won accreditation as a four-year college. The victories have been hardly achieved, and the prosaic marshalling of facts and figures only here and there suggests the disappointments and failures which tested the courage and perseverance of the leaders. The author writes with understanding and sympathy, and if the story occasionally becomes tedious, it is because the course of events itself was slow and uncertain.

In our day we see quite clearly the problems of maintaining the institutions we have. It is not easy to put ourselves back in the days of beginnings and appreciate the doubts, the discouragements, the dissensions which led to constant differences of opinion as to what kind of school to build, where to locate it, how to support it. We sense in this story the interest of the immigrants in the Danish folk-school, and the difficulty of fitting it into an American environment. The religious conflicts centering around Grundtvig are here, and the question of relationships with other bodies. It seems never to have been altogether clear whether the emphasis should be on college or on seminary. Lack of clarity and unity of purpose resulted in confusion and delay.

In a longer perspective it may be that some of the details of this history will appear less important and, on the other, that there are larger movements and national influglish

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ences that belong in the context of this Nebraska story, which now are left out. But the author has given us a factual account of Dana's seventy-five years, and we place it gratefully on a shelf of other histories that gradually piece together the story of the transplanting of Scandinavian Lutherans with their faith and their ideals to a new and important part of the modern world.

CONRAD BERGENDOFF
Augustana College, Rock Island

Norlev, Erling, and Koefoed, H. A., The Way to Danish. A Textbook in the Danish Language Written for Americans. Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1959. Pp. 306. 36 crowns.

In the opinion of this reviewer, The Way to Danish is the best textbook in the Danish language written specifically for Americans and one of the very best anywhere for students with English as their basic language. It is only fair and proper to refer to the book as essentially Erling Norlev's work, since H. A. Koefoed's contribution to it is limited to the description of Danish pronunciation, the phonetic transcriptions given throughout, and a critical revision of the grammar. Erling Norlev's achievement in this textbook is indeed impressive when one considers the fact that the author was not originally trained in linguistics and philology. When a candidatus juris can write so eminently sensible an introduction to the Danish language as The Way to Danish, many a professional foreign-language textbook writer is put to shame.

One of the most attractive features of Mr. Norlev's textbook is its Danish reading material which in thirty consecutive chapters forms a coherent story. Norlev believes that a foreign language should be taught and learned in what he calls "a pattern of natural associations." To produce such patterns of natural associations the author sends a few young Danes on a vacation trip through Denmark, a trip which in a spontaneous manner involves them in a series of everyday situations. As the "story" develops, basic Danish vocabulary and the most common idoms are activated. Gradually also, the rudiments of elementary grammar are introduced, with a gentle hand and without undue pedantry so as not to frighten away undergraduates allergic to overdoses of theoretical grammar. Thus the pill is gilded for the student: while his interest is being held by the entertaining adventures of Norlev's main characters Jørgen Bang and Leif Bentsen, he is constantly improving his knowledge of modern, colloquial Danish. This approach to foreign language teaching makes The Way to Danish very popular with American beginners, as the reviewer has had occasion to observe at the University of California where the book is being used in the course in Elementary Danish.

Another feature of *The Way to Danish* appealing to students and instructor alike is Erling Norlev's practical device of numbering consecutively the lines of the Danish text (section A) and making references back to the text by specific line numbers in his diomatic and grammatical explanations (sections B, C, D, E). This greatly facilitates quick, efficient use of the textbook and is especially helpful to the self-taught student of Danish who wishes to use the book. Finally, the exercise section F, which concludes each chapter, serves as a valuable recapitulation of the whole chapter in testing the student's ability to translate from English into Danish. Throughout *The Way to*

Danish one notes with pleasure the use of natural, colloquial, modern language. Norley's textbook is blessedly free from stilted sentences of the mirth-provoking type "old mea are more baldheaded than young men."

In the grammar section of his book Erling Norlev deliberately makes his grammatical explanations as simple as is humanly possible when one cannot quite conceal from students the harsh fact that there is something in this world called verbs, nouns adverbs, prepositions, and so on. In assuming little or no previous knowledge of formal grammar in students the author is being realistic and wise. Once in a rare while, perhaps, Norlev in his eagerness to be elementary and nice overreaches himself and defeats his own purposes. He seems to feel that the term infinitive is too abstruse a word for undergraduate students, so he proposes to call it instead the basic form. But this suggested change in grammatical terminology is not as helpful as Norlev would have us believe. Surely, even the most unsophisticated college student must have come across the word infinitive somewhere along the line. Besides, basic form is not an unambiguous term for the infinitive. It might, for instance, with equal right be applied to the positive form of the adjective. Thus one could say that good is the "basic form" of that adjective. One might also make a case for hest (as distinguished from en hest, hesten, hesten, hesten) being the "basic form" of that noun. Why not avoid this confusion and retain the time-honored term the infinitive when talking about the "basic" form of the verb?

Although The Way to Danish was published only in 1959, the book has already been adopted at several American universities and colleges. In the opinion of this reviewer, Erling Norlev's textbook is likely to be, for many years to come, the best introduction to the Danish language available to the American student.

Børge Gedsø Madsen University of California, Berkeley WILL YOU HELP? The Society is attempting to assemble a few complete sets of Scandinavian Studies which are needed by libraries and other research institutions. The requests for such sets are fairly frequent, but unfortunately the inventory of publications taken early last fall showed that many numbers are now completely out of print, and that others are in short supply. Therefore, I urge all members who have any of the issues listed below to send them to me if your personal copies are no longer needed. Complete back files of the journal could be of considerable importance to the Society, and would also be a service to scholars and students who wish to consult them. The numbers required for this purpose are as follows:

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Volumes 1-7 (1911-1923), all issues. Volume 13, No. 3 (August, 1934) Volume 19, No. 8 (November, 1947) Volume 24, No. 4 (November, 1952) Volume 26, No. 2 (May, 1954) Volume 27, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 (February, May, August, November, 1955) Volume 28, No. 1 (February, 1956) Volume 28, No. 4 (November, 1956)

Let me thank you in advance for your assistance!—Thomas R. Buckman, Secretary-Treasurer, SASS, 316 Watson Library, University of Kansas, Lawrence, Kansas.

JUNIOR YEAR. Shortly after the War the University of Stockholm established a graduate school for English-speaking students. In a period of a little more than ten years over seven hundred students from all over the world have attended the oneyear diploma course and the number of applicants is growing steadily. This year a new line of study for English-speaking students has been created under the name of the Stockholm Junior Year. Its organization is based on the experiences gained at the International Graduate School. The Graduate School and the Junior Year form an administrative unit called the Institute for English-speaking Students at the University of Stockholm. Like the graduate school the new junior-year program is open to English-speaking students regardless of previous knowledge of the Swedish language. It particularly aims at providing an opportunity to study abroad for American students with two years of college training, but it is also open to students from other countries with a similar preparation. The junior-year program includes intensive instruction in the Swedish language, lecture courses in Scandinavian history, literature, geography, and social structure, and-towards the end of the year-a seminar course covering the same fields as the lecture courses. The full program thus forms a comprehensive Scandinavian area course. For further information, write to the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 127 East 73rd Street, New York 21, New York.

Ph.D. Birgitta Steene received her Ph.D. at the University of Washington in March. Her dissertation, The American Drama and the Swedish Stage, 1920–1958, is being microfilmed and will be available shortly at the microfilm center in Ann Arbor. Dr. Steene studied at the University of Uppsala, the Sorbonne, and the University of Washington. She has taught in Sweden and at the Universities of Kansas and Washington and is now teaching at Louisiana State University at New Orleans. Last summer she taught in the American Seminar at the University of Lund.

VAN NUYS. No fewer than eighty persons are enrolled in two evening courses in conversational Norwegian at the Van Nuys, California, High School under the Adult Education Program of the Los Angeles Board of Education. Both classes are being taught by Lt. Jacob Rohde-Moe of the Norwegian Army, who is on leave to study engineering at UCLA.

TEXT. Professor Kenneth G. Chapman of the University of California at Los Angeles is at present working on a new textbook in Old Icelandic. It will differ from existing textbooks in that it will introduce the student to the grammar gradually by means of a series of graded reading selections (excerpted from the sagas) and grammatical exercises. Only after the grammar has been mastered in this way will the student be turned loose on the body of Old Icelandic literature. The work on this textbook has now reached the stage of a "second edition" of the introductory section, which has been used in mimeographed form in classes at six different universities during the past academic year, providing much information useful in revising the lessons. Before these introductory lessons assume their final form, it would be of value to have them used in still more classes, and any teacher of Old Icelandic who will be offering the subject during the coming year and who would be interested in using these lessons is invited to write to Professor Chapman, who will be happy to send a sufficient number of copies. The only restrictive condition on the use of these lessons is that criticism and suggestions for the improvement of them must be sent to Professor Chapman after they have been used.

NEW MEMBERS. Life: G. W. E. Nicholson, New York; Prof. Erik Wahlgren, Los

Angeles. Sustaining: H. B. Friele, Seattle Annual: Prof. Kenneth Chapman, La Angeles; Thyra Fjellanger, New York Matthew M. Lindfors, Vancouver, B. C. George H. Mellbye, Chicago; Arne Nicolaysen, Brooklyn; Kerstin S. Pedersen St. Paul; Lois Roth, New York; Prof. Robert Stilwell, Morgantown; Corris Peter Strong, New York; James A. Swan son, New York; Wayne Wheeler, Park ville, Mo. Institutions: Embassy of Fin land; Kenwood Campus Library, Unversity of Wisconsin; Matthews Library, Arizona State University; Royal Notwegian Embassy; Norwegian Foreign Of fice; Barr Smith Library, University of Adelaide. (To Feb. 1)

DEADLINES. Material for notes and copy for advertisements must reach the managing editor three months before the date of publication of SS. Specifically, these are the deadlines:

August number—May 15 November number—August 15 February number—November 15 May number—February 15

It takes three months between the submission of the complete manuscript to the printers and the publication of the number.

VANCOUVER. Mr. Matthew M. Lindfors of Vancouver, B. C., reports an enrollment of nineteen students in his Begining Swedish class and twenty-two his Intermediate Swedish class this year.

TEXT. Instructors in Swedish who need help in teaching the use of the prepositions should find Sylvia Boström's Frita av till över: Övningsbok i svenska språka för sulänningar (Folkuniversitetets Förlag, Stockholm, 1959. Three and a hall crowns) useful.

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BOOKS RECEIVED

Gunnar Ahlströms Kring Gösta Berlings saga, Natur och Kultur, Stockholm, 1959.—Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, Oxford University Press, New York, 1959.-William E. Christensen's Saga of the Tower: A History of Dana College and Trinity Seminary, Lutheran Publishing House, Blair, Neb., 1959.—Dansk Nytaar 1960, Lutheran Publishing House, Blair, Neb., 1959.—Evrbyggia Saga, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 1959.-Grundtvig Studier 1958, Gyldendal, Copenhagen, 1959.—Collectio Holbergiana, Wettergren & Kerber, Göteborg, 1959.-Jakobina Johnson's Northern Lights, Menningarsjóð, Reykjavík, 1959.—Erland Lagerroths Landskap och natur i Gösta Berlings saga och Nils Holgersson, Bonniers, Stockholm, 1959.—Erling Norlev and H. A. Koefoed's The Way to Danish, Munksgaard, Copenhagen, 1959.—Didrik Arup Seips Norsk og nabospråkene i slutten av meddelalderen og senere tid, Aschehoug, Oslo, 1959.—A Pioneer in Northwest America 1841-1858. The Memoirs of Gustaf Unonius, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1960.

TEXTBOOKS FOR THE STUDY OF SWEDISH

MODERN SWEDISH POEMS 60 cents

SVENSKA SOM LEVER. By Martin Allwood and Arthur Wald. \$1,50

BASIC SWEDISH WORD LIST. By M. S. Allwood and I. Wilhelmsen 75 cents

ELEMENTARY SPOKEN SWEDISH. By Martin Söderbäck. 60 cents

ADVANCED SPOKEN SWEDISH. By Martin Söderbäck, \$2.00

SWEDISH READER FOR SECOND YEAR. By Martin Söderbäck. \$2.00

FÄNRIK STÄLS SÄGNER. By Johan Ludvig Runeberg. \$1.75 FRITIOFS SAGA. By Esaias Tegnér,

KARL-ANDERS GOES TRAVELING. By L. Gottfrid Siöholm \$1.00

81.25

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